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WAR & PEACE

Confusion on U.S. policy splits both parties, but no alternative is offered

By Tabitha Petran

ON THE EVE of top-level Anglo-American talks designed "to forge world policy against Reds" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/22), a pall of gloom settled over London, while Washington remained feverish and fretful over Secy. of State Dulles' "brink of war" boasts. The mood in both capitals reflected growing frustration over the impotence of Western "strong policy" to cope with today's realities.

On Capitol Hill, correspondents found sound and fury but no "great debate" on American foreign policy. The Democratic hubbub over Dulles' blunders and Gen. Ridgway's charges of Administration parsimony in military expenditures was aimed, at least in part, at diverting public attention from the sorry spectacle of the party's drive in the Senate to exempt natural gas producers from direct federal regulation. (The cost to consumers will be at least $600 million a year.)

Congressional Democrats were far from united in pursuing the foreign policy attack on the Administration. Some of the most powerful, said the N. Y. **Times** (1/22), want "to mute the whole affair." A "larger number" prefer to back Ridgway's **Saturday Evening Post** attack on the Administration's allegedly insufficient military preparations.

WHAT NIXON SAID: Adlai Stevenson's "Dulles must go" slogan found scarcely an echo in Congress. Republican replies emphasized the Administration's readiness to use "overwhelming force" (Thomas E. Dewey) and came close to saying openly what Vice President Nixon told the press off-the-record recently (**Nation,** 1/21): that this Administration's great strength, as compared to its predecessor's, lies in the fact that it is not bound by its allies to a purely defensive posture.

The setbacks suffered by U. S. policy have produced neither alternatives nor new approaches but only what the **NYT** (1/22) called "a series of spreading fissures striking downward through both parties." The real issues were ignored. No answers have been given, James Reston pointed out (**NYT,** 1/19) to the

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Good for General Motors? Why, Charley, it's been a COLOSSAL 3 years!

The Happiness Boys at the General Motors "Motorama" luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York are (l. to r.) Harlow H. Curtice, GM president, Alfred P. Sloan Jr., chairman of the board, and Defense Secy. Charles E. Wilson, GM ex-president. With the profit figures forming tiny stars before his eyes, Sloan told 600 businessmen present that President Eisenhower, entering his fourth year in office, is "the man of the hour and of the age."

BUDGET CATCHES DEMOCRATS OFF BALANCE

How Congress looks in Ike's fourth year

By Lawrence Emery

CONGRESS last week was mulling over President Eisenhower's whopping $66,000,000,000 budget for fiscal 1957, which will spend 64 cents of every government dollar for war purposes, mostly on new secret weapons of the space cadet variety like the Intercontinental Ballistics Missile with a 5,000-mile range. But spending on what the budget called "civil benefits" was also up, even though this category represented only 21% of the total. Republicans were generally happy with the result and regarded the budget message as a companion piece to the President's State of the Union message in which he seemed to out-Democrat the Democrats. As the **Christian Science Monitor** put it:

> "The Administration's fiscal swing to the left kidnaps a great section of the Democratic Party program. . . ."

A FINE HAIRLINE: There was some grumbling from the right, however, like the **Wall St. Journal** comment that the government is spending too much; but conservatives generally were happy that the budget is balanced. On paper it seemed to be, but estimates of future revenues were based on the assumption that the boom will get bigger. Even if the guesswork was good, the balance was on such a fine hairline that any small slip-up would throw the whole thing out of whack. The budget message itself said:

> "Although balanced, the margin of estimated surplus . . . is slim. This calls for the utmost co-operation between the executive and legislative bodies to prevent increases in expenditures or reduction in receipts that would create a deficit."

This was shrewd pressure on the Democrats to accept the budget as presented; no politician in an election year wants to be blamed for unbalancing a budget. A tax cut for low in-

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CHOON CHA KWAK
The farewell was Mozart

SYNGMAN RHEE THWARTED

Victory for the Kwaks—Koreans get Czech visas

A SIX-YEAR fight to save Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak from deportation to South Korea and certain death ended happily last week. At a New York banquet meant to honor them and spur their fight for life, it was announced that the couple had received a transit visa from Czechoslovakia. They were scheduled to leave New York for Prague by plane on Jan. 29 and go from there to their homeland in North Korea.

Choon Cha Kwak was born in Seoul, her husband Chungsoon in Pyongyang. Their careers as musicians brought them to the U. S. and they were married in Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1942. Their fight against the Japanese occupation of their country qualified them for a major job in the war. Chungsoon was made head of the Korean unit of the U. S. Armed Forces Information and Education Divn. and Choon Cha served as his assistant. In 1948 they applied for permanent residence in the U. S.

NEVER WAVERED: But by 1949 the cold war had set in. Chungsoon was fired and Choon Cha resigned. In September of that year deportation proceedings were begun. While fighting the battle for their lives the Kwaks never wavered in the larger battle and throughout the Korean War called for the ouster of Syngman Rhee. The first story of their case to reach nationwide attention was printed in the GUARDIAN in March, 1954. Their own courage rallied friends and a committee to defend them was organized. Repeatedly in the last six years the couple were saved by last-minute maneuvers.

Last November Immigration Dept. Hearing Examiner Joseph Mack formally ordered their deportation, disregarding documentary evidence that they would face torture and death. Their attorney Ira Gollobin appealed for a review of the case by the Region

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Plot hatching?

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Pentagon's proposition to cut its $35.5 billion expenditure to $32 billion by 1960 is contingent upon President Eisenhower's re-election. The offer amounts to $21 tax saving per person, $84 for the average family of four with its two voters. The Hatch Act debars federal employe participation (or contribution to) election campaigns. Is any reader rash enough to suggest that the Attorney General examine this proposal in the light of the letter and spirit of the Hatch Act?

Albert Bofman

From Pablo Casals

SANTURCE, PUERTO RICO

I am deeply touched at your very kind letter. It would be my joy to be able to visit the United States and see so many good friends of mine, but I cannot. My visit to the States will be possible when my country will be free of the actual regime which today is being helped by America. Thanking you again and with best wishes.

Pablo Casals

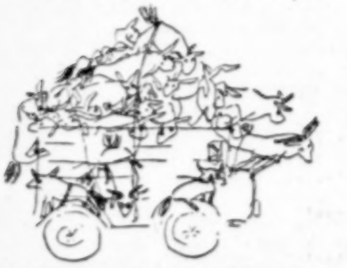
Spanish patriot and cellist, Pablo Casals at 80 is one of the world's most respected artists. Since Franco's overthrow of the Spanish Republic in 1938, he has devoted his life to working for restoration of democratic Spain. On his arrival in Puerto Rico, his mother's homeland, the GUARDIAN wrote him expressing the hope that he might come to this country, where he has countless thousands of admirers, among them the readers of the GUARDIAN. The foregoing letter was his response.—Ed.

Yakety-yak

PEKING, CHINA

I was surprised to see, in my first article on Tibet, printed Dec. 12, the subhead "100 YAKS ON A TRUCK." Recovering from my amazement, I found the same thing in the text. Now, my manuscript said a truck carried as MUCH (meaning as much cargo) as 100 yaks, not as MANY.

Can it be that you have a yak at one of the editor's desks—a single-minded yak of a grammarian? Anyway, please correct and,



if you like, print my attempt at a picture of the 100 yaks that were not.

Israel Epstein

Bob Thompson's pension

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The recent victory of Joseph Kutcher, the legless veteran, winning reinstatement of his pension is an important one in stopping the immoral deprivation of rights based only on political differences.

My husband, Robert Thompson, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross, was similarly deprived of his benefits. Yet Mr. Moss of the Veterans Administration in recent news releases states that "no veteran within the continental limits of the United States has ever lost his pension without first being found guilty in a court of law."

The only conclusion to draw then, is that he accuses my husband of having been found guilty of treason, mutiny, sabotage or giving aid to an enemy of the U.S., in a court of law. These are the only legal grounds for withholding veterans' rights. I wish to state publicly that my husband was never accused or found guilty in any court of law of committing any of these acts. Nor has the VA ever produced any "satisfactory evidence" to substantiate such charges.

This is not a question of agreeing or of disagreeing with my husband's politics. Instead, it is a question of an American soldier who is being cheated of something that he earned at the cost of his health. The government has a moral obligation to give him his 100% disability pension.

It is evident that the VA has established a pattern of immoral practice in depriving veterans of their pensions merely because of political differences. Unless people rally to request the reinstatement of my husband Robert Thompson's pension, there will be more Kutcher cases to come.

Leona Thompson

(See story on p. 10).

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

. . . One of the late Andrew Mellon's tax and financial assistants used to walk the streets, scanning the gutters before he submitted his final reports on prospects. . . . If the butts were small, he concluded, people weren't feeling too optimistic about keeping their jobs and were economizing. . . .

On this basis, Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's reports of tobacco prospects and 1955 performances delight experts at Treasury. . . .

—Ray Tucker in the Everett (Wash.) **Daily Herald, Jan 5.**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Ruth Rowlands, Snohomish, Wash. Please send original clip with entry.

Is Estes the bestes?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Regarding the article on Estes Kefauver in the GUARDIAN, one gathers that the writer looks down equally on Kefauver and the politicians he made his enemies. Your article says "Kefauver, working relentlessly toward the limelight, began his investigation of the Dixon-Yates power steal."

The fact is that Harriman apparently never knew that Dixon-Yates existed, while Stevenson steered clear of this issue until he was positive it was safe. Let's give credit to a man who knows a hot issue when he sees it, and has the courage to attack it boldly.

As for Kefauver's "ambition," the reactionaries called FDR and Marcantonio ambitious, and they may have been right. The important thing is not whether a man is ambitious, but where his ambition leads him.

The GUARDIAN article points out that Kefauver "became the first avowed Democratic candidate to speak out forcefully on the murder of Emmett Till." Considering that no Democrat can get very far when he has the Dixiecrats lined up solidly against him, this stand of Kefauver's would seem to be quite the reverse of "ambition."

Fred Harte

Will you write?

CHICAGO, ILL.

As a reader of **Korean Independence**, I am greatly concerned over the threatened deportation of editors John Juhn and Diamond Kimm to South Korea. No great knowledge of international affairs is necessary to visualize the fate awaiting any outspoken critic of Syngman Rhee or his policies.

Our government must not bear the responsibility of turning over a single victim to the sadists of Syngman Rhee. I have written to this effect to David Carnahan, So. Calif. Dist. Immigration Div., Terminal Island, Calif.

(Mrs.) Nellie De Shaaf

Second thoughts

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

With further regard to John McManus' review of Herbert Aptheker's book, since I don't believe my recent note was very clear: I found many sections of the book not only interesting, but useful in the day-to-day activities of progressive organization. At the same time, I felt that Dr. Aptheker had been out-paced by events, and particularly by the development of a policy of coalitionism which, if applied to his presentation, would strongly weaken his excellent argument. I think John McManus, perhaps sharply and with extra emphasis, but nevertheless justifiably placed his finger on this point. In this lay the strength of the review, for to achieve unity of all progressives, criticism and self-criticism must ever be applied in an open and honest fashion.

M. H. Baker

For Claude Williams

NEW YORK, N.Y.

When our very good friend the Rev. Claude Williams visited us several months ago, he told us moving stories of the pride with which his sharecropper friends were wearing the clothing our readers donated.

Now comes this new appeal: "We will thank you very much for serviceable used clothing: for to-be mothers, babies, school girls and boys; men's shoes, work clothes, 'Sunday suits' for grassroot preachers. A young working (day-laborer) preacher just came by to borrow $2 to take his wife to a mid-wife. They have two children already—too many such people here cannot buy food and shelter and clothes."

Send your used but serviceable clothing to Claude Williams, Route 1, Box 268, Helena, Ala.

Isabel Van Frank

Point of clarification

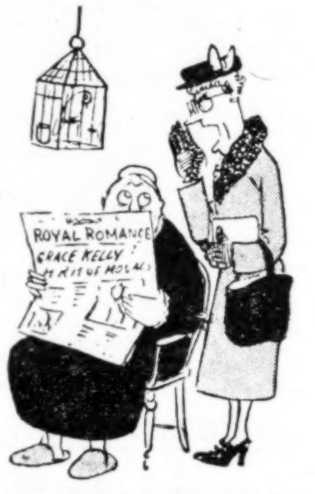
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Dr. Du Bois' article on the Ford contribution to private education is a masterly analysis of the present situation. However I question this sentence: "The same wise people will realize that all the government will have to do is to take over big business to achieve socialism."

I dont' believe Dr. Du Bois meant to give the impression that all that had to be done to have socialism was to have the government take over the existing economic system, because it just doesn't work that way, for reasons I'm sure most GUARDIAN readers are acquainted with. I'd like to see some enlightenment on this point by Dr. Du Bois.

In the meantime, I think every college president, every sociology and economics teacher from professor on down to teaching assistant—and if the gents in Congress, some of whom are probably semi-literate, could be made to read and acknowledge it in some way—should get a copy of this article.

Maury Grocko



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"All I said was, it makes a nice change from Aly Khan!"

Soil bankers

NEW YORK, N. Y.

There is a big swindle on the horizon, no bigger than a man's hand at present, but it can bud into the biggest that the Agriculture Dept. ever engaged in, under the guise of aiding farmers.

It is called "Soil Bank" and is to do away with the surplus problems of farmers. "Surplus" is a visible thing and can be seen by the public, but "Soil Bank" is a most invisible thing. It can only be seen by the politicians and the rich farmer that is going to get all the benefits, while the consumer is still going to pay taxes to keep up high farm prices and have his throat cut both ways at once, as usual.

See the January issue of the **Farm Journal and Country Gentleman**. Believe me, the new plan as reported in the **Farm Journal**, is going to make more than gentlemen out of some of the farmers. It is going to make nobility and a government-supported, tax-free, landed aristocracy out of them.

The cost per year is going to be over a billion of dollars to the taxpayers. It will not do away with farm surpluses, but will keep up high prices. Its method is to rent land (not less than ten acres) from the farmer-aristocrat at a yearly rental of 7% of present inflated values for periods of up to 25 years, for letting it lie fallow. The government will pay all taxes. It will not entail any expense of keeping present labor employed. It means enjoying an income that even the best stocks of Wall St. will not equal, for the landowner, who is favored by the local politicians who will control this swindle. It is intended to pull the land exploiters responsible for surpluses out of the coming hole of falling land values. Get to it.

Leroy Dixon

For Sophie Hettling

WOODSIDE, N. Y.

Because she would have liked us to remember her in this way, we are enclosing $5 for the GUARDIAN in memory of our friend, Sophie Hettling, who died New Year's Day at the age of 82.

Herman & Anna Springer

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". . . So the years roll round and the last will come, when I would rather have it said 'He lived usefully' than 'He died rich.'"—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

REPORT TO READERS

Eastland under fire

THE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE of the Senate Judiciary and its chairman, Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), this week faced demands that the committee be denied its appropriation and that "appropriate action" be initiated against Eastland for his racist activities in Mississippi and elsewhere in the South.

- Identical telegrams from 37 individuals cooperating with Americans for Traditional Liberties, 40 E. 40th St., N. Y. C., accused Eastland of: (1) a "completely unwarranted offense" against the N. Y. **Times** in his recent press inquiry, and (2) of "racist incitement" and the founding of "a modern Klan organization" to resist integration in Southern public schools. The telegrams urged the Senate to "take appropriate action immediately." Among the signers were:

> Elmer Davis; Tilford Dudley, of the AFL-CIO Political Action Committee; Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, former pastor of the Rockefeller-financed Riverside Church; Father George Ford, pastor of Corpus Christi R. C. Church, N. Y.; Dr. Israel Goldstein, president, American Jewish Congress; N. Y. City Councilman Stanley Isaacs; Newbold Morris, former president, N. Y. City Council and 1949 Republican candidate for Mayor; author Lillian Smith and many other top clergymen, labor leaders and officers of the NAACP.

- The Madison (Wis.) **Capitol Times** on Jan. 20 declared editorially:

> "The Democrats should answer to the decent people in this country for the decision of the Senate Rules Committee to give the Eastland Committee $285,000 to carry on its squalid work for another year. . . . By contrast the Hennings Committee investigating violations of constitutional liberties got only $100,000, after asking for $115,000. . . .
>
> "What stands out so appallingly grotesque in its un-Americanism is that no committee of the U.S. Congress has even dared to think of an investigation of the barbarism that exists in Eastland's home state of Mississippi. . . .
>
> "Democrats cannot escape responsibility for this nauseating offense to every American who stands for justice, fair play and decency. And this includes Adlai Stevenson, Estes Kefauver and Averell Harriman, who have been keeping a disgraceful silence."

I. F. Stone's **Weekly** first called attention to the appropriation recommended for the Eastland Committee, the highest proposed for any investigating committee in the Senate, and called upon its readers to demand that their representatives in Congress oppose appropriations for Eastland and for the House Un-American Activities Committee headed by Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.). **The GUARDIAN heartily endorses this proposal.**

THE GUARDIAN RECENTLY URGED readers to write to the N. Y. **Times,** congratulating the paper on its staunch editorial against Eastland but asking the reinstatement of three staff members who lost their jobs after refusing to cooperate with the Eastland Committee when under questioning. One reader who wrote as suggested received a reply from Charles Merz, **Times** editor, thanking the sender for the congratulations but stating that "on the matter of employes who invoke the Constitution, you are misinformed. We have never dismissed anyone solely for pleading the Fifth Amendment."

Last July copy editor Melvin Barnet was fired by **Times** publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger as he stepped off the stand in Washington after utilizing the Fifth Amendment. The stated cause of dismissal was that the paper had "lost confidence" in him. In December desk editors Jack Shafer and Nathaniel Aleskovsky lost their jobs when they informed the **Times** of their intention to plead the Fifth Amendment in appearing before Eastland.

Historian Henry Steel Commager of Columbia University, in an interview with the York (Pa.) **Gazette & Daily,** recalled that a former top editor of the Times, Charles R. Miller, was summoned before a Senate Committee headed by Sen. David I. Walsh (D-Mass.) 30 years ago and refused to testify. As recalled by Commager, Miller told the Walsh Committee that its investigation "was not the proper business of Congress" and "reminded them in clear terms that the Constitution gave them no jurisdiction whatsoever to inquire into the press."

In the current Barnet case, the **Times** not only fired him

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War & peace

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"fundamental questions" revolving around "policy decisions of the most serious nature," the President's relationship to the nation, his Secretary of State, his Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the relationship between the U. S. and its allies.

In short, the power of a mere handful of men to take silent and secret decisions affecting war and peace has not been seriously questioned. The President's promise to take questions of war to Congress ignores the fact that the "small handful" could put the nation in a position where Congress would have no choice.

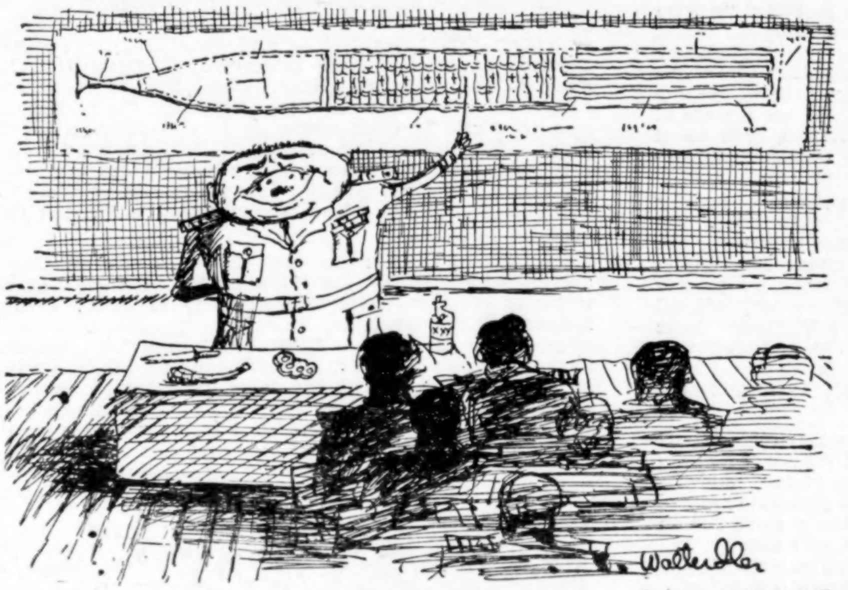
AN OBSOLETE POLICY: More basic, however, is the question of policy itself. The Truman-Acheson "positions of strength" policy has proved a failure. Yet all that is proposed is to pile on more strength. In a letter to the **NYT** (1/22) foreign affairs analyst James P. Warburg pointed out to the Democrats that "the trouble is not just that Mr. Dulles has mismanaged their policy but that their policy, which Mr. Dulles took over and mismanaged, is obsolete." He added:

> "If the Democrats can think of nothing better in the field of foreign affairs than to make the most of the blunders of Mr. Dulles, they had better not try to make foreign policy an issue in this campaign. And, if they do not make foreign policy a real issue and succeed in revitalizing it, it will make very little difference whether they or the Republicans preside over the ensuing tragedy."

THE CHINA TALKS: China's publication of the record of its Geneva talks with the U. S., and the U. S. reply, underscored the urgent need for a new U. S. approach in the Far East. Pressure for such a new approach has come recently from Canada which, its foreign minister Pearson says, is "giving careful consideration to recognition of China." But in Washington, despite all the Democratic talk about an "overall review of foreign policy," no voice—Democrat or Republican—was raised to demand even that Washington quit stalling and begin real negotiations with China.

China's version of the Geneva record shows the U. S. flatly refusing to discuss the two agenda items put forward Sept. 10: the trade embargo and preparations for higher level negotiations. The pretext was Washington's demand for a joint declaration renouncing use of force. China's first draft of such a declaration was rejected because it referred to the UN Charter and stipulated a conference to settle peacefully outstanding issues. Its second draft omitted these stipulations—and was also rejected.

Two U. S. drafts provided for renunciation of force "except in individual and collective self defense," including in the latter its "right" to "defend" Formosa. The U. S. version of the talks in effect confirmed China's version: the U. S. price for beginning negotiations is China's renunciation of its claims to Formosa. In releasing the U. S. version, Washington officials emphasized that "the rights and responsibilities of the U. S. to defend Taiwan [Formosa] . . . are not negotiable" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 1/22).



Drawing by Walter Iler

"A good question, Lieutenant, the psychological aspects of the situation immediately following the initial blast have been provided for by this compartment just in back of the war head which will be stacked with Bibles."

"ATOMIC TRUMPS": Washington's Far Eastern policy has thus become even more rigid. Prime Minister Eden is expected to raise with the President the questions of China's UN membership and easing of the embargo. But Washington officials said Eden was unlikely to press the membership case "with much fire" and insisted the U. S. will not permit easing of the embargo.

These indications, coupled with Peking's charges of new intrusions of U. S. planes over China and revival of massive retaliation talk, underline Washington's determination to hold to its inflexible positions in Asia, by threatening to play its "atomic trumps," if need be, and at whatever cost to the national interest.

These threats have been renewed at a time when the President and the Prime Minister are supposed to be trying to find ways and means of halting the worldwide deterioration of the Western position—most specifically the rapid decline of Western influence and prestige in Asia and the Middle East. Both governments hold the U. S. S. R. responsible for their plight. But what they really fear—and are maneuvering to undermine—is the growing independence of the countries in this huge area.

THE NEW BALANCE: A whole new world of independent states has come into being, the London **Observer** pointed out (1/14), and "in a sense . . . is coming to hold the balance" between the "free" and the socialist worlds. Dulles' bomb waving, it said

> ". . . shows an utter lack of awareness that the world is not rigidly divided between friend and foe and that the uncommitted nations are not simply pawns on a chessboard, or muddleheads who lack the moral courage to take sides, but a great new force whose different outlook is based on a different history from ours."

This blindness (London's as well as Washington's) is inherent in the "policy of strength." This policy rigidly limits what the West can do in the "uncommitted" areas. Proposed plans add up to what **Business Week** (1/21) called "a holding operation rather than a bold new initiative." Reinforcement of military positions, pressure to achieve an Israel-Arab settlement, and some increase in "economic" aid are the only steps suggested to date. London's gloom stems from its recognition that these will not work; the gloom is deepened by steady U. S. encroachment on British positions in the Middle East.

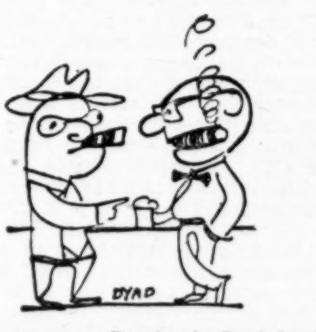
THE JORDAN MESS: Basic Anglo-American conflicts are openly erupting, particularly in the maneuvers surrounding the Baghdad Pact. The British hold that the protests and riots which kept Jordan out of the pact were in part financed by King Saud of Arabia. Since Saud gets $290 million a year in royalties from U. S. oil companies, the British believe the U. S. can, and should, curb these activities. But this demand was reportedly rejected in the preliminary Anglo-American talks concluded last week. The U. S., furthermore, has openly blamed Britain for the Jordan fiasco and refuses Britain's demand that it join the Baghdad Pact, on the grounds that it does not want to offend Egypt. At the same time, American propaganda appears to be veering toward building up Egypt's Nasser as the "strong man" of the Arab world.

But Western efforts to subvert national independence movements is meeting increasing difficulties today. For these countries have a new freedom of maneuver as a result of socialist offers of trade, technical assistance and the opportunity to purchase arms. These offers permit them to bargain for more Western dollars and arms and on better terms, and to loosen colonial controls.

A CHOICE FOR ARABS: None of these countries is being oriented toward the Soviet bloc, as the Paris **Le Monde** pointed out (1/8). But the Arab world is approaching a "decisive turn" when it will face the choice of (1) following Nasser's policy of collaborating with both worlds—already an obviously fruitful one for Egypt—or (2) Iraq's policy of collaborating only with one side, through the Baghdad Pact—from which "Iraq has derived no advantages." In **Le Monde**'s view there can be no question where the decision will lie.

In fact, opposition to the Baghdad Pact is developing within Iraq itself, where recently speakers in Parliament have urged that Iraq choose neutrality (**Agence France Presse**, 1/11). At the other end of the Baghdad axis, Pakistan was also reported wavering in its support of the West. The **Christian Science Monitor** (1/19) found there "a trend in thinking toward the neutralism of Egypt and India, which, it is felt, have the best of both worlds." Strong neutralist, (i.e., independence) trends had earlier been reported from Thailand and Cambodia.

Dulles' plan to visit some of the key uncommitted nations this spring, following the SEATO meeting in Pakistan, is an obvious effort to retrieve the situation. But while governments have courteously welcomed his plans, the **Times** of Indonesia probably spoke for majority opinion in the uncommitted nations when it wrote: "Keep that man out."



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Say—wot's this technological education they're threatening us with?"

Eastland under fire

(Continued from Page 2)

but got an injunction preventing his union, the Newspaper Guild, from taking the matter to arbitration. The Guild is now seeking to have the injunction vacated and meanwhile is moving into grievance procedure on the other **Times** firings—as well as two firings on the N. Y. **Daily News** and one on the **Mirror** of individuals who used constitutional privileges before the Eastland Committee.

FOLLOWING THE BARNET CASE and during the current Eastland hearings the N. Y. local of the Guild conducted a referendum on whether to defend all members fired for invoking the Constitution when questioned on communism. The noes carried the referendum by some 3,500-2,500 but the battle does not seem to have been ended by the vote. Nationally-syndicated radio-television columnist John Crosby, a member of the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** unit of the Newspaper Guild, wrote to the **Guild Reporter,** the union's national publication, calling the vote "not only shocking but most incomprehensible." He wrote:

> ". . . for newspapermen to display such appalling ignorance of their own rights, to say nothing of their duties and responsibilities, is a matter of grave concern.
>
> "The New York Guild is not to defend the Bill of Rights? Our whole charter to operate as newspapermen, our legal right to exist at all, is the First Amendment. The Guild is not to defend it? What are we trying to do—commit suicide?"

A SIMILAR QUESTION was quickly decided in the Intl. Typographical Union "Big Six" local in New York. In the N. Y. **Times** chapel, three members of which invoked the Fifth and other Amendments before the Eastland Committee, a motion carried 55 to 37 with 60 abstentions designed to give the **Times** the green light to fire individuals defying Congressional committees.

Brought to an overflow "Big Six" local meeting for approval Jan. 15, the **Times** chapel motion was ruled out of order by president Frank Barrett. An appeal from Barrett's ruling was voted down by better than two to one. This came after Barrett declared that such an action would abrogate the union contract and would work injustice against members by assuming guilt without proof merely because individuals chose to invoke their constitutional rights.

Last week Eastland Committee counsel J. G. Sourwine, a protegé of the late Sen. Pat McCarran of Nevada, resigned to run as a Democrat for McCarran's seat in the Senate, now filled by Sen. Alan Bible, who will not seek renomination. Meanwhile the Chicago **Defender's** Washington correspondent reported well-founded rumors that Eastland will undertake next

> ". . . a probe of NAACP leaders for Communist activities. . . . When this happens it will be a real Armageddon in a showdown between the forces of bigotry against the forces of law and decency."

TO SUM UP, we urge you to demand that your representatives in Congress vote against appropriations for the Eastland and Walter committees; and we again urge that you write to the **Times** and the other N. Y. papers asking reinstatement of individuals forced out of jobs after invoking their constitutional rights.

—THE GUARDIAN

A date!

WHAT DATE? St. Patrick's Day, of course, the occasion of the San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley and environs GUARDIAN banquet at the Mart Club, with Vivian Hallinan as MC and the GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal as guest speaker.

The program is not complete yet but the date and place are set: Saturday, March 17, the Mart Club in the Merchandise Mart; the price per plate, $5.

Want a free ticket? Here's how: for each new $3 sub you sell, $1.50 can be credited toward your dinner; if for your own renewal, take 75 cents credit; trial ($1) subs gain you a credit of 50 cents each. Subs and renewals to be credited toward your dinner tab must be entered through Malvina Reynolds, 1199 Spruce Street, Berkeley, Calif.

THE CULTURAL STATUS OF THE SOUTH

A bitter battle is shaping up

By W. E. B. DuBois

WHENEVER ANY PERSON criticizes the South, there goes up a chorus of protest. It used to be called "waving the bloody shirt!" Today it is looked on as being scurrilous, or at least discourteous. We disclaim all such accusation. We do not love the South less, but the nation more. We believe the South today is hurting the nation. We see democracy in America today being ruined by the actions of the former slave states. The South today is still, as it long has been, below the average of the nation in education, income and health.

The disregard of law in the South is notorious and its treatment of crime has been barbarous. The South has deliberately tried to keep the Negro under control of the whites by accusing him of crime and giving him unjust sentences in court. It has sold convict labor for private profit. It has lynched thousands of Negroes and mobbed tens of thousands. Poverty, ignorance and disease have given rise to a criminal class among Negroes, and migration to cities has increased crime. Thus the South has forced a naturally law-abiding and peaceful people to spawn a bitter criminal class.

MORALITY CONTRADICTED: This situation can in part be rightly blamed on Negro slavery and poor-white peonage, for which the whole nation was to blame. But the South refused to listen to Southerners who protested against slavery, and organized to make the Union a slave nation and fought a civil war to secure this. A movement to reopen the African slave trade was stopped mainly by the interest of the border states in the domestic slave trade.

Since slavery was legally abolished, the South has refused to abide by the result, has visited on the black victims of slavery the blame for her own misfortunes. She has invented and handed down culture patterns which contradict the dictates of morality. The white South has itself become lawless in order to override and nullify laws.

The average white Southern child is today raised to regard Negroes as permanently inferior to whites. This teaching is increased by refusing children all normal human contact; by separate schools, separate travel and separate recreation. This is a handicap to the white child, to the South, to the nation and the world, for most people in the world are colored.

A WELL LOST CAUSE: In addition, the white child is taught to believe that the result of the Civil War was an injustice to the South. A vast literature has appeared on the beauty of the slave South and the wrong of slave emancipation. The scholarship of the nation has concurred in this with few exceptions.

Yet this thesis is false in science and ethics. The Lost Cause deserved to be lost. It was a contradiction of right and decency. The reason for the Civil War was not States Rights, but Negro slavery. The Vice President of the Confederacy stated that the Confederacy was based on Negro slavery and that slavery was the cause of the Civil War. In time, free labor would have replaced slave labor in the South; but there was no single sign of that in the South in 1861. From 1820 to 1865, the South fought increasingly with every resource of brain, political power and threat of armed might to preserve Negro slavery.

After emancipation the South for the last 90 years has refused to admit Negroes to democracy and thus helped ruin democracy in the United States. Books by the hundred thousands have been printed to support the South, and defense of the equality of races and the injustice of disfranchisement have been frowned upon in the South. Thus with Southern racial philosophy dominant, this nation has been prepared to desert world democracy and throw its wealth and influence and armed forces toward colonial imperialism over the demand of the majority of the world, which is colored.

ENFORCED SILENCE: It has become a national habit not to discuss Southern problems under any circumstances, lest we "affront" the South. We assemble a nation-wide conference on our faulty education. But all real discussion of education in the South, particularly as it touches the racially separate schools, is most carefully ruled out. The essence of real democracy is open and frank discussion. Here we enforce silence. What will the youth of the nation infer except either national cowardice or consciousness of guilt?

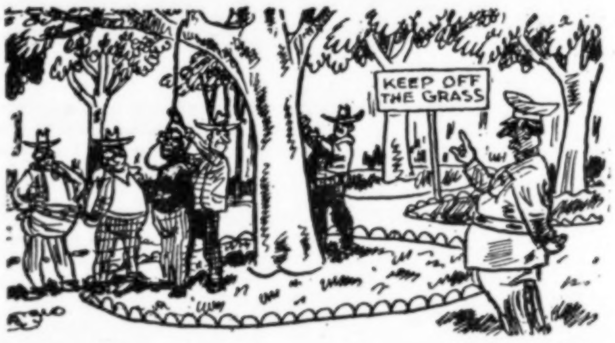
It is soberly said that integrated schools would encourage racial intermixture in the United States. Shades of Satan, what in God's name encouraged the millions of Mulattoes who lived in this nation before May 17, 1954? There were 400,000 Mulattoes in 1860 and over 2⅓ million in 1910. After that the census stopped trying to count Mulattoes. When men like Sen. Thurmond of South Carolina fear race mixture if schools are integrated, the reason is that they prefer Mulatto bastards to legitimate children of mixed blood.

THE RECONSTRUCTION STORY: We have spread the story that the Negro cannot be allowed to vote because of ignorance and character. We forget how Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner strove in vain to have the government furnish schools and land for the poor and ignorant freedmen off whom the South and North had fattened for 250 years. It was a unanimous South and its Northern friends which never let a Freedmen's Bureau, designed to furnish the freedmen a minimum of land, tools, and education, really function.

The story of Reconstruction has been endlessly and repeatedly distorted. Who has not heard of the stupidity of letting the ignorant, lazy and venal Negroes of South Carolina govern the state after emancipation? Half this story is deliberate falsehood. First, the Negroes never dominated any Southern state. Secondly, their ignorance was the fault of their white masters' legislation for 200 years. Thirdly, the Negroes' first political act was to establish the first Southern free public school system, and it was the Negro who first gave the vote to poor white labor and established a system of social legislation which the state kept for 27 years.

THE "NEW SOUTH": In 1866, Henry Grady of Atlanta announced the birth of a "New South." Evidence of the maturity of that New South is today at hand. Georgia illustrates this (see chart below).

In a half century the South has turned from predominant agriculture to trade, manufacture and transport; that is, from semi-slavery of the farm to the exploitation of skilled and semi-skilled labor; from land monopoly to monopoly of machines and natural resources. Here for the first time it faces trade unions and the modern labor movement and its strategy is to pit low-priced and disfranchised black labor against white labor, which is afraid to organize and demand, lest black labor replace it. Low labor cost, cheap land, an ideal climate and political control based on disfranchisement of blacks and discouragement of white voters enable the South to offer Northern industry free sites, low taxes and government subsidies. Thus the ground is being cut from beneath the feet of Northern labor and states like Texas become the paradise of untaxed millionaires.



Vie Nuove, Rome

SOUTHERN LAW ENFORCEMENT
"Now, now gents! Don't you see that sign?"

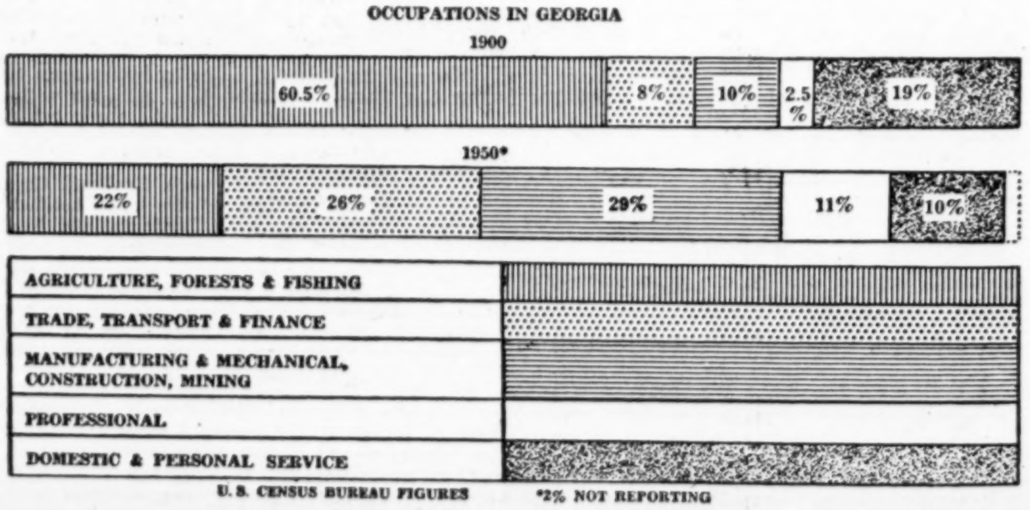
The battle for political and civil rights; for labor uplift and monopoly control in the South in this century and the next, will be one of the bitterest the world has seen.

CARNEGIE IN THE MIDDLE: So the Cotton Kingdom is dead and the South like 18th century England faces problems of labor exploitation, labor unions, poverty, ignorance and sickness, exacerbated by deep race prejudice and abundance of capital, seeking private profit.

The results of all this is illustrated by Atlanta, the capital of this New South. Atlanta has 500,000 white folks and 145,000 Negroes. It has a public library to the main branch of which Negroes are not admitted. On the front of this main building is a frieze. This says on the right: "Esop, Homer, Virgil." On the left: "Dante, Milton, Poe." And in the center: "Carnegie." So it stands:

ESOP, HOMER, VIRGIL, CARNEGIE, DANTE, MILTON, POE.

Atlanta and the New South know the place of Big Business in their world and its relation to Literature, Poetry and Art.



U. S. CENSUS BUREAU FIGURES

*2% NOT REPORTING

LABOR ACTION ASKED

Randolph and Quill urge U.S. troops to protect Negroes

"IF WE CAN SEND troops 6,000 miles to protect Chiang Kai-shek" President Eisenhower should be able to send armed forces to protect U. S. citizens in Mississippi and South Carolina. That proposal was offered last week by A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice-president and president of the Intl. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, at the "Soundoff" luncheon of the Greater N. Y. Urban League.

Randolph called for increased pressure on city, state and national legislators to support federal intervention in the "cold war" being waged against southern Negroes who seek to vote. He saw hope in the newly formed AFL-CIO of increased labor participation in the fight.

Michael Quill, president of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers Union, pinned his hopes for labor action on the 1,500,000 Negro members of the merged movement and a generally alerted rank and file. He called the AFL-CIO constitution weak on civil rights and termed "inadequate" its new civil rights department; but he called for a civil rights department in every local and a spot on every local's agenda for education and civil rights. Echoing Randolph's call for troops, Quill said:

> "If the government can send troops against workers [as in recent strikes] it can do it against the racists."

FOR MISSISSIPPI JUSTICE

Howard to speak at Feb. 8 rally

DR. T. R. M. HOWARD, president of the Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership will "bring the Mississippi story up to date" at a rally on Feb. 8 at New York's Manhattan Center, called by the Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi.

In agreeing to speak Dr. Howard wrote committee chairman Lyman Beecher Stowe:

> "If there has ever been a time in the history of America when an organization of this type is needed, the time is now. The conditions in Mississippi steadily grow worse. My life is in danger every minute that I am in the state and I have had to move my family out of the state because of the constant threats on their lives."

The Committee was organized by Stowe, grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, civic leader Guy Brewer, attorney Frank Serri and others. Recently added sponsors include playwright Arnaud D'Usseau, Robert W. Justice, chairman of the Harlem Affairs Committee, author Bruno Lasker and artist Anton Refregier.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE GOES TO A DEMONSTRATION IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

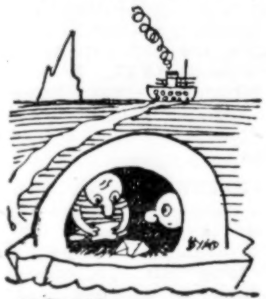
People warn Eden: Halt inflation, or there'll be trouble

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

PRIME MINISTER Anthony Eden, who will be in Washington by the time you read this, has a double load of trouble here at home. Brickbats marked "Do something about the Middle East mess" are flying his way even from his own Tory side; more and heavier ones are hurtling at him marked: "Do something about the inflation."

All basic living costs, especially rents, have been shooting up. Unions representing builders, miners, engineers, teachers, and chemical and wood and shoe and farm workers are demanding more pay. Capitalists, making bigger profits than ever, demand a crackdown on the workers and a pool of "healthy unemployment." In short, Britain's domestic barometer for 1956 is edging toward "Stormy."



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Blimey—another rent increase!"

PIGEONS AND MIKES: On Sunday afternoon, Jan. 15, the storm's first flurries blew over London's Trafalgar Square. You would never have known from the papers that anything was in the wind: their big stories were an interview with Grace Kelly's mother (exclusive), Secrets of Unmarried Mothers, and an interview with Grace Kelly's father (exclusive). The square between Nelson's column and the National Gallery, with spray blowing off the fountains into the crisp air, was occupied by the usual multitude of pigeons fluttering up one by one to take corn from the hands of little girls. A few cops strolled up and down while more of the same sat discreetly in a parked van. They and the loudspeakers tied with string around the necks of Nelson's lions, and the mike on the plinth of the column, showed that representatives of the people were coming to present their grievances in this historic open-air parliament.

Then, preceded by bagpipe bands, the workers began marching in from north, south, east and west. The call to speak their minds to the government had come from the Amalgamated Engineering Union, representing 800,000 key workers with £ 9,000,000 in the kitty.

THE BAD OLD DAYS: The banners of the marching men, which were hoisted up and arranged as a backdrop behind the plinth-platform, said: "Forward to Socialism," "Unity Is Strength," "For a 15% Increase, Peace & Socialism," "Defend Living Standards," "Food, Rent, Clothes All Gone Up—So Must Wages," "15% to Meet the Increase in Rent." They were the banners of Projectile Workers, Boilermakers, Port of London and Ship Repair Workers, Ford and Briggs unions, Aircraft Workers, Draughtsmen, Tenants' Committees from Hammersmith and Ilford, and dozens more.

Soon there was no more room for the pigeons; they settled all over the column and on projections from buildings around the square. The thousands of massed demonstrators were dressed cheaply but decently enough to protect them against the cold; one thought of ragged, hungry demonstrations before the war and realized the improvements from squalid to almost tolerable conditions for British workers. The speakers said:

> "We will not go back to the bad old days. We will maintain the living standards we have and improve them. Now we see our standards actually fallen in the last four years while we are producing 50% more. We have got to use our industrial strength now when we can sustain a fight rather than later when we may be too weak to sustain it.
>
> "We are asked to accept as the greatest mercy and blessing that our children no longer have rickets, as if privation and unemployment were our natural lot. But we want a bigger share of the cake. One day we'll have the whole cake; we'll take over the factories and run them in the interests of our people.
>
> "We are told we are holding the nation to ransom. Who is the nation? The directors and their mistresses? We are the nation! We have learned that we have to struggle. It's a class issue. They are they and we are us."

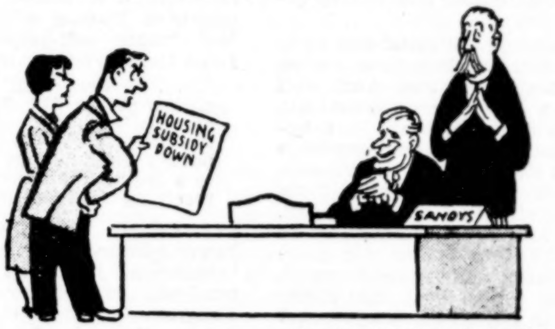
TROUBLE IS BREWING: The warning to the government was as plain as the solidarity behind it in the square: Stop the inflation, but if you don't stop taking it out of the hides of those who produce the goods, there'll be trouble.

The trouble is already brewing noisily on one front: rents. The most significant aspect of the demonstration was the recognition of the identity of interest between trade unions and the tenants' associations mushrooming all over Britain—because rent hikes equal pay cuts. British workers are determined to be decently housed at moderate rates, but here is the picture now:

- 4,750,000 houses over 65 years old, 2½ million over 100.
- Already in 1951, over a million families in excess of houses, plus 900,000 "suppressed households"—persons living with other families because they can't get a home.
- Replacement with civilized housing requires at least 5¾ million new dwellings—plus another million for slum clearance.

SEVEN-YEAR WAIT FOR HOME: Yet the Tory government:

- "Expects" local authorities to build 400,000 dwellings in the next five years and considers that "would end the problem."
- Has raised four times in the past year the public works loan interest rate, cut the housing subsidy by over 50% and will soon end it altogether—eliminating any likelihood that even these will be built.
- Will soon move to end rent control on landlord housing, while rents of Council (local authority) housing—not subject to control—are already soaring.

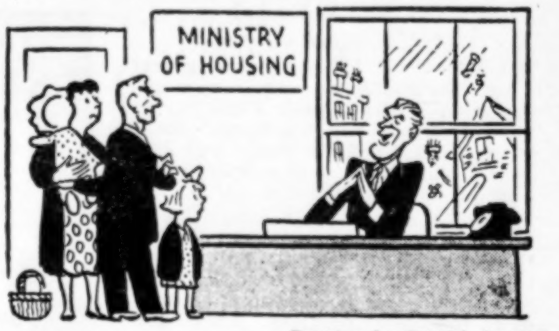


Drawing by Gabriel, London

"As we're depending on atom bombs for security it would be silly to go on building houses, wouldn't it?"

The problem of finding homes is indicated by the fact that even in Coventry, where a down-to-earth Labour Council has done the best job in Britain, new families must wait three years before putting their names on a list—and then at least four more before getting a home. Meanwhile Britain's 3,000,000 present Council tenants face rent hikes of up to 35% from a year ago. They are also being confronted with a government-sponsored "differential rent" scheme according to income, involving a 57-question "means test," with permission for the Council to check with their employers.

PARADES AND STRIKES: The tenants' answer has dismayed the Tories by its militant unity and efficient organization. Coal miners in a Welsh community promptly forced withdrawal of the differential rent scheme. In Crawley, Sussex, 7,000 workers downed tools to march through the town in support of the tenants' association protest against rent raises. Aldershot's tenants' association raised thousands of pounds to fight rent-hike test cases through the courts. Tenants swarmed to mass protest meetings in Hull, Finchley (London) and Cardiff.



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"We can't promise you a house, but we might fix you up with a space platform in the ionosphere in a few years."

In Ilford, Essex, 188 workers' families who went on a rent strike last fall are still refusing to pay the increases to the Tory Council—and that after three striking families were forcibly evicted at Christmas time. I talked with two of their quiet, cheerfully determined leaders—one of them a badly wounded war veteran—in the square on Sunday where their delegation got the biggest cheer of all from the union demonstrators.

Later I talked with Tom Vernon, a white-haired, pink-faced councillor of London's borough of Marylebone, whom you might take for a British army major. He is a leader of the Natl. Assn. of Tenants & Residents, to which 220 local associations and 85 trade union organizations are affiliated. In March, the NATR will launch a national campaign with delegate conferences to be held both in London and Manchester. Vernon said:

> "A crisis is approaching because it is becoming clear to tenants that there is a single cause for their local troubles, so they need a national organization to cope with it. That cause is the government's basic policy to reduce the people's spending power. By eliminating any more serious building of houses by municipalities, rents are raised and unemployment in building, furniture and other industries is created.
>
> "The differential rent scheme is a complete swindle to conceal that more rent is wanted all round. They are trying to make tenants feel that they are 'preying on poorer people,' but those in the Labour Party who suggest this is some form of socialism ignore one of the most dominant things in the British character—the resentment at being questioned about their private affairs. The people are volcanic mad about it; in Scotland they are even more on the warpath.
>
> "The fight against this whole swindle is throwing up striking and redoubtable people as leaders; many who never went to a meeting before are getting their first education in active democracy. Tenants' meetings everywhere draw far higher attendance than anything political. In Ealing recently the organizers were amazed by the participation of the most sober types in marches and chanting of slogans outside the town hall."

RED-BAITING CAMPAIGN: As usual with any broad militant movement, the NATR (which actually had known Communists in its original leadership) is red-baited by the Labour Party's right wing. Vernon admits that this has kept the national body weak, but on the local level it "has little or no effect—most people treat it as an irrelevance."

Supported as they are by the mass of the trade union movement, the tenants' associations all around the country are reviving broad, grass-roots political activity as nothing has done in years. In the developing Tory campaign to reduce the workers' share of the cake, Eden has some tough customers to deal with here. Just ask the pigeons.

Kwak victory

(Continued from Page 1)

Office of the department in Burlington, Vt.; contrary to all expectations, the Kwaks won the right to a hearing, which was held.

THE BANQUET: In anticipation of the new verdict and to prepare for more legal battles 250 persons gathered on Jan. 21 at a banquet in New York's Great Northern Hotel. Speakers included Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Abner Green, exec. secy. of the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Louise Mally, secretary of the Kwaks' Defense Committee, and James Aronson, executive editor of the GUARDIAN.

News of the life-saving transit visa brought the audience to their feet in an ovation. Aronson said in his speech that

> ". . . the Kwak case encompassed all the venality and spleen of the frightened men who rule our country. It goes to the core of the hundreds upon hundreds of stories of Cold War victims that the GUARDIAN has told about since the Cold War began."

ALWAYS WITH US: Chungsoon Kwak paid tribute to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which first came to their defense, the members of the defense committee and lawyer Gollobin. Then he added:

> "We cannot fail to pay our respect and gratitude to many publications, particularly to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Our thanks go to its editors and all the staff."

Mr. Kwak concluded:

> "As we ready ourselves to depart from this country, some asked us how we felt. . . . Despite the hysteria and climate of fear, all of you and others came out to rescue us. Our stay in this country taught us many things. One of them is that where there is identity of purpose among the people there is unity. And unity can bring results when the purpose is the welfare of fellow human beings. We do believe this can only be achieved through peace and better understanding. Therefore we know that no matter where we are, when we work for peace, we may not see you but we are working for and together with you."

Then Choon Cha Kwak sat down at the piano and Chungsoon took up his violin. Their farewell to the U. S. was a Mozart sonata.

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EVEN THOUGH THEY NEED THEIR OWN GOODS

Why socialist states seek the Asia trade

By Kumar Goshal

(Second of two articles)

RECONSTRUCTION and development in North Korea with Soviet co-operation (GUARDIAN, 1/23) shows the pattern of the "challenge" posed to the U. S. by the growing economic relationship between the socialist world and the underdeveloped countries.

Socialist governments believe that economic modernization and a rising living standard in underdeveloped countries help to promote world peace; and world peace is necessary for their own economic progress. They are therefore ready to trade capital goods, promote industrialization and, as the Chinese say,

> ". . . share the fruits of progress with our neighbors even at this early stage, when we ourselves need all the industrial materials we can make."

WITHOUT CONDITIONS: As Soviet CP secretary Khrushchev said Dec. 29, socialist governments "are not interested in the export of capital." They build "according to plan," produce what is needed for themselves, for their allies and for trade abroad. They can gear their production of export goods to the plans of co-operating countries—as the U. S. S. R. is doing with India and Burma—"without any conditions attached." Don Cook reported (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 12/26/55) that Moscow has been offering economically backward countries "unfettered . . . aid, trade and assistance . . . on remarkably free and generous terms."

India, for example, considers foreign aid offers in relation to its five-year plan needs. The N. Y. **Times** reported (1/12) that, while in India, Bulganin and Khrushchev had offered to build

> ". . . an entire new aluminum industry, from the mine to the smelter and through the finishing plant [and] a hydro-electric power plant in South India. [This seemed] to fit in with India's needs. . . . The Russians made it clear to India that they wanted greatly expanded trade relations between the two countries."

NO FLUCTUATIONS: The socialist world's readiness to trade with the underdeveloped countries—instead of giving handouts—helps rather than hinders their economic growth. It opens up larger markets for them and avoids the danger of losses through market fluctuations manipulated by capitalist countries.

Government of India photo

BULGANIN AND KHRUSHCHEV WITH GARLANDS IN NEW DELHI
Prime Minister Nehru (r.) admires their floral neckpieces

Complaints against such losses were voiced in a newspaper owned by a staunch U. S. ally. Thai Premier Pibul Songgram's Bangkok **Tribune** has recently been campaigning against Washington's "forcing down Thai rubber, tin and rice prices by competing" and putting the Thai people "under the yoke of an unlimited obligation" through conditions "hidden in" the military aid to Thailand. Thai Lieut. Gen. Kharb Kunjara accused the U. S. of threatening Thai rice exports by "dumping surplus rice on the world market" (**NYT,** 1/11).

THE CONTRAST: Czechoslovakia has agreed to send Egypt industrial, transport and metallurgical products in exchange for cotton.

China is sending industrial and agricultural products to Egypt for cotton and superphosphate; iron and steel manufactures, machinery, chemicals, medicine, building materials to Lebanon for sugar, tobacco and vegetable oil; iron and steel products, machinery, telecommunications equipment to Syria for cotton, grain, wool and sheepskin.

Poland is sending machinery, ships and automobiles to Burma for minerals, foodstuffs and rubber; sugar, cement, steel goods, coal, machinery and textiles to Ceylon for tea, coconut and coconut oil, copra and rubber.

The Soviet Union is sending to India a million tons of steel, oil production machinery, mining and other equipment, with a guaranteed purchase of Indian goods of equivalent value. This greatly benefits Indian producers "by opening up a potential foreign market" (**NYT,** 1/4).

OVERTURE TO AMERICA: On Jan. 6, in reply to questions by the Latin American news magazine **Vision,** Bulganin suggested increased economic and cultural Soviet-Latin American co-operation on the Asian pattern. Commenting on this, Walter Lippmann said (1/19) that Moscow's challenge was in exchanging manufactured goods for Asian, African and Latin American agricultural surpluses, which made the countries trading with the U. S. S. R. feel "more self-respecting." It also freed them from having

> ". . . to deal with nursemaids and chaperons in the form of missions and visiting Congressmen who come to supervise the use they make of our bounty [and to put their] signature to a military alliance as the price of receiving foreign aid."

"TACTICAL WEAPON": The Eisenhower administration's response to this "challenge" has been to put greater emphasis on military pacts; to press Congress for larger military aid to its Asian allies; to try to create "the proper climate" for U. S. foreign investments. The Hoover Commission, however, urged that U. S. aid not be used for manufacturing or industrial projects in Asia.

The most characteristic phrasing was the Administration's request for a $200 million "tactical economic weapon" for "flexibility to strike back" against a sudden "Soviet economic offensive in underdeveloped areas" (**NYT,** 12/25/55).

One such "strike back" was the sudden U. S.-British decision to help finance the Aswan dam on the Nile, which Moscow had offered to build in exchange for Egyptian goods. But Egypt is already complaining about the U. S. dominated World Bank's requirement that it "exercise constant supervision over Egyptian national economic policies during the eighteen years of dam construction" (**NYT,** 1/3). And Rep. Jamie Whitten (D-Miss.) has condemned U. S. financing of the dam as "using our dollars to put our farmers out of business."

A LESSON UNLEARNED: In his State of the Union message, President Eisenhower, on aid to Asia, called for encouraging "investment overseas"; supporting "development projects and programs which we approve"; aiding Asian allies to achieve "stability necessary to preserve their independence against communist threats and enticements"; sustaining and fortifying "our mutual security program." In effect Washington was announcing it would continue to use "military aid as a substitute for economic aid" (**Christian Science Monitor,** 1/5).

The Administration shows no sign of learning any lesson from its own admission that it is facing an economic challenge from the socialist world; that the challenge cannot be met without first scrapping its military alliances with feudal regimes whose days are numbered, and then implementing a program of genuine economic competition. As Walter Lippmann (12/29/55) said:

> "The men who believe in the military system that we have put together do not believe in the economic program and would not be interested in administering it. . . . While our existing policy about the military pacts is dominant in Washington . . . there is no prospect of our being able to conceive, to unite behind, and to execute successfully an imaginative and constructive economic program."

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

GEN. TAYLOR TO REPRESENT SCALES

Detroit contempt conviction upset; full court to hear Gold appeal

JANUARY was a busy month on the civil rights front. These are some of the things that happened:

GROSSMAN REVERSAL: A U. S. Court of Appeals on Jan. 12 reversed a lower court contempt of Congress conviction of Saul Grossman, exec. secy. of the Michigan Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born. Grossman had refused to produce the books and records of his organization before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952, had been cited for contempt and found guilty by Federal District Court Judge Alexander Holtzoff.

He greeted the reversal as a step toward protecting organization members from harassment and persecution. The ACPBF is now seeking to prevent the Subversive Activities Control Board from forcing it to register as a "communist front" organization (GUARDIAN, 1/23).

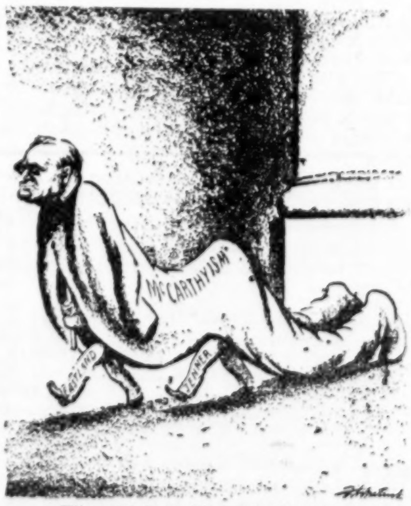
GOLD APPEAL SET: The same day an Appeals Court ordered reargument of the appeal of Ben Gold, former president of the Intl. Fur and Leather Workers Union. Gold, now free on bond, was convicted and sentenced to a one to three year prison term for filing an allegedly false non-communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. During his trial in 1954, two jurors were dismissed when it was disclosed that FBI agents had visited their homes.

The appeal was argued before a three-man appeals court in Washington last march. The court directed that it be heard by the full bench of nine judges.

LIGHTFOOT LOSES: The U. S. Court of Appeals in Chicago on Jan. 12 upheld the conviction of Illinois CP leader Claude M. Lightfoot, first victim of the Smith Act's membership provisions. The court also sustained the constitutionality of the Smith Act. Under the Smith Act provision which makes mere membership in the CP punishable, Lightfoot was sentenced last year to five years in jail and a $5,000 fine.

TAYLOR FOR SCALES: On Jan. 16 it was made known that Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor is representing Junius Scales in his petition to the U. S. Supreme Court for a review of his conviction and six-year sentence under the "membership" clause of the Smith Act in North Carolina. Taylor was chief Allied prosecutor at the Nuremburg trials and represented Harry Bridges in his most recent successful fight against deportation.

The petition in the first such case to reach the Supreme Court holds that it is a violation of the First and Fifth Amendments to attach "criminal consequences to 'membership' unattached by acts or declarations." A "contrary conclusion" by the Court, says the petition, "would sweep into discard the clear and present danger standard."



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
OUT OF THE DISCARD

BRAVERMAN BRIEF: In a "friend of the court" brief filed by its exec. vice president, Osmond K. Fraenkel, the Natl. Lawyers Guild told the Maryland Court of Appeals that a Smith Act conviction for "conspiracy to advocate" does not show "moral turpitude" and therefore does not warrant disbarment in Maryland. It was filed Jan. 20 in the case of Maurice Braverman v. Baltimore City Bar Assn. The Bar Assn. has asked the court to disbar an attorney who has served a sentence under the Smith Act. The brief pointed out that "no court has held a conspiracy to **advocate** proscribed doctrine to be immoral."

N. Y. BAR WON'T ACT: After two hours of vigorous debate, the New York City Bar Assn. on Jan. 1 rejected proposals to discipline members on grounds of CP membership or to investigate them if they invoked the Fifth Amendment in testimony. Recommendations were approved to continue the present policy of preventing Communist lawyers from becoming members of the bar and to oppose new legislation making the mere invocation of the Fifth Amendment grounds for disbarment. Attorney Lloyd K. Garrison said:

> "It seems to me that in this country we have gotten into a national obsession with negative methods of security."

THE STORY OF HERMAN SCHUCHMAN AND HIS FAMILY

How the Cold War came to Tiffin, Ohio (pop. 18,943)

By Elmer Bendiner

NOT ALL WITCH-HUNTS are fought in Congressional committee rooms with TV lights and photo flash bulbs popping. All across the country people quietly stand up against small-time meanness, bigotry, fear and the FBI. For example, what is happening in Tiffin, Ohio, (pop. 18,943) is scarcely known outside the state; but to the people involved the stakes are high; the skirmish is as bitter as a battle.

Herman Philip Schuchman studied at the Universities of Iowa and Minnesota and came out with master's degrees in child welfare and social work. He and his wife Marilyn settled down in Utica, N. Y., where Schuchman went to work as psychiatric social worker for the Oneida County Child Guidance Clinic. Things went well. They became a part of the community, made a host of friends. Mr. Schuchman taught sociology at Utica College too. They began to raise a family.

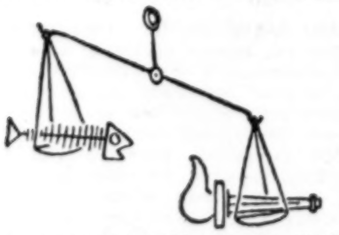
A KNOCK AT THE DOOR: The first trouble came with a visit from an FBI agent. He came while Schuchman was at work, told Mrs. Schuchman that he had a file on them and casually mentioned every state they had been in to indicate he was well informed.

He had one request: information about people they knew. Mrs. Schuchman slammed the door on his foot which he had wedged in to keep the interview going.

Weeks later he called at Schuchman's office to see if they had changed their minds. Schuchman made it plain they had not. After that they heard no more from the FBI in Utica. Last spring Schuchman decided to accept an offer of a better job—promising greater usefulness and more money—as chief psychiatric social worker in the North Central Ohio Mental Health Clinic at Tiffin.

A START AT TIFFIN: The Tiffin clinic serves five counties; only 10% of its patients live in Tiffin. The Ohio Dept. of Mental Hygiene and Correction pays staff salaries. Other clinic expenses are paid by the State and by private contributions. Authorities had searched for a year and a half for the right man; they had sought out Schuchman and seemed satisfied. On Aug. 1, with their three children, David, 5; Lisa, 3½; and Gina, 16 months, the Schuchmans moved into a house arranged for by the clinic. Tiffin seemed to welcome them as warmly as had Utica.

Six weeks later Sidney Isaacs, assistant to the State attorney general came down from Columbus. The Tiffin American Legion had invited him to take a hand in breaking up the United Electrical Workers, which then held contracts in nearby plants. Isaacs dropped in on the Schuchmans. He read a list of organizations he said Schuchman had belonged to and told him what he wanted: information on how the organizations were run, names of members, etc. When Schuchman refused, Isaacs threatened to bring him before a grand jury and force him either to give information or invoke the Fifth Amendment. He said under Ohio law Schuchman could be fired for taking the Fifth.



SMOG OF RUMORS: The Schuchmans stood firm. Isaacs talked to the Legion on "Communists in Tiffin," and went back to Columbus. The Schuchmans heard no more from him. After that the menace was unofficial but deadly. There were informers—not only faceless, but without specific accusations a man could refute. It was a poisonous smog of vague rumor. Schuchman later described it this way:

> "The kind of atmosphere that was perpetrated encouraged the sort of fear that made us pull down shades to prevent anyone visiting us from being seen and in turn intimidated."

Tiffin is quiet and friendly. The great crises of the community such as the threat that UE might win plant elections in September stirred mainly the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions and a number of Catholic priests who fought UE from the pulpit. The rumors about the Schuchmans seemed to come from the same sources, but were hard to track down. The couple were told that before they had reached Tiffin the police there had received a warning letter from the FBI. Beyond that there was nothing a man could come to grips with.

TWO SCHUCHMAN VICTIMS
David, now six, and Lisa, four

WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN: Rumors flooded the clinic that Schuchman was a Communist. Individuals and groups demanded that Schuchman clear himself or be fired. When friends gathered at the Schuchman house word sped swiftly as it can only in a small town and suspicion touched all who knew them. A corps of hatchet-women within the local Child Conservation League was reported mobilizing a telephone campaign. That same group had waged a fight against a pro-UE woman running for the school board. They called every member of CCL, urged them to vote against her and call others to do the same. It was successful and the women were said to be drawing up the telephone lists for a drive against Schuchman.

A Tiffin delegation went to Columbus to press the State Dept. of Mental Hygiene to fire Schuchman. A Catholic priest said he would allow no parishioner to attend the clinic until Schuchman was "cleared." A large manufacturer carefully wrote out a check to the clinic for $500 and said he would sign it when Schuchman cleared himself.

"YOU MUST CONFORM": But no one yet had formally accused the Schuchmans of anything. There was nothing to clear. The atmosphere at the clinic became more charged. Clinic head Dr. Richard Waite demanded that Schuchman go to Isaacs, give the names he wanted and bring back a clearance. Until then, the Schuchmans were told, they would not be welcome in Waite's home. Fellow staff members cooled. The friendliest warned:

> "It's all right in a large city to believe what you think is right, and live in the manner best suited to you, but in a small town like Tiffin you must conform."

Some support came from judges, probation officers and women's groups with whom Schuchman had dealt professionally. There were letters of sympathy from outside Tiffin too. But the pressure was gaining and Dr. Waite said that Schuchman was losing his usefulness to the community though the clinic's case load was no lighter.

JOB IS ABOLISHED: Shortly before Thanksgiving Schuchman wrote to Mrs. Esther Hauptli of the State Dept. of Mental Hygiene, asking her advice, offering to come to Columbus to discuss the matter. When he returned from a Thanksgiving holiday, Schuchman found a terse letter from Dr. L. P. Ristine, asst. commissioner of the dept., requesting his resignation but offering no reasons.

When Schuchman telephoned for an explanation, Ristine said only: "You know very well what the reason is."

He offered Schuchman two weeks' salary if he resigned quietly. He refused to consider a hearing, threatened that if Schuchman was stubborn, he'd cut all red tape and get rid of Schuchman by abolishing the post. Schuchman refused to resign.

On Dec. 1 he received notice that his job had been abolished as of Nov. 29 and his salary was stopped as of that date. His landlord simultaneously ordered him to vacate the house within 30 days.

IT'S OUT IN THE OPEN: The news hit the papers. For the first time Atty. Gen. William O'Neill (reportedly grooming himself for the governorship race next November) announced that his Internal Security Divn. had been investigating Schuchman and that he would continue to investigate the whole Mental Hygiene system for "communist infiltration."

What happened afterwards almost made the whole thing "worthwhile," said Mrs. Schuchman. Old friends stood by loyally and new ones turned up in unexpected places. Mrs. Schuchman wrote:

> "The few people who have stuck by us are the real heroes in this story. Some of them have had to fight bitter battles within themselves, but they have come out of it with the knowledge that they must stand up for what they feel is right or die inside."

TOLEDO BAR HELPS: The American Civil Liberties Union agreed to take a hand in the case and last week powerful support came from the Toledo Bar Assn., which assigned its constitutional rights committee to fight Schuchman's case in a law suit against John Porterfield, head of the State Dept. of Mental Hygiene.

Schuchman will charge in court that he has never been confronted with either charges or accusers, that he was asked to turn informer and fired when he refused.

Meanwhile the Schuchmans stay on in Tiffin. Herman Schuchman, a psychiatric social worker whose abilities were never questioned, is sweeping floors in a local factory. The children are in nursery school. It's been a problem to explain it all to five-year-old David but Mrs. Schuchman says:

> "We are fortunate in that he's much prouder of his daddy working in a factory than he was with his social work."

Mrs. Schuchman has asked people to write their protests to Dr. John D. Porterfield, Director, Dept. of Mental Hygiene and Correction, State Office Bldg., Columbus 16, O.

NEGROES PRESENT DEMANDS

Montgomery bus boycott holding firm

THE TWO-MONTH BOYCOTT by Negroes of buslines in Montgomery, Ala., is holding firm. And it won't end, say the former riders, until these demands are met:

- Common courtesy from bus drivers.
- A first-come, first-served seating policy.
- Hiring of Negro drivers.

The boycott of the Chicago-owned Natl. City Buslines was organized by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. after the arrest on Dec. 1 and fining of Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, who refused a driver's order to give up her seat to a white person. She was found guilty of violating the state's jimcrow law.

THEY ARE NOT BEGGING: In a unanimous resolution at an overflow mass meeting recently the Negroes said the seating problem could be solved by having Negro passengers seated from the rear forward and white passengers from the front toward the rear. That would eliminate standing while some seats are vacant. Under the present plan 10 seats on every bus are reserved for white passengers even when the vehicle is crowded with Negro passengers. Mayor Gale rejected the proposal because it "would shatter custom." Mobile, Dothan and Huntsville, Ala. buses use the first-come, first-served method.

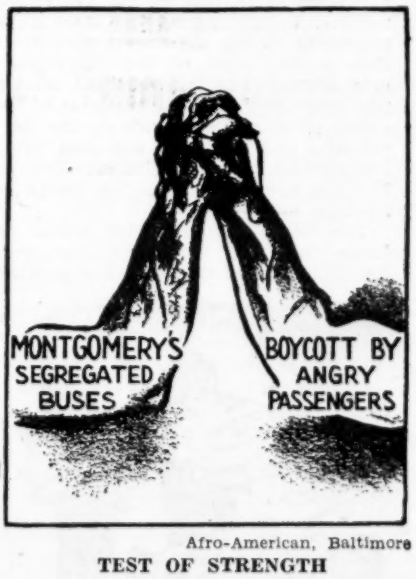
The Rev. M. L. King, head of the Improvement Assn., told the mass meeting:

> "It seems that the mayor is used to having Negroes coming to him and begging. We're **demanding** our rights. Since we have shown them they have no legal grounds to stand on, they have switched to custom."

With 90% of its former Negro passengers refusing to ride, the bus company persuaded the city council to raise adult fares from 10 to 15 cents and school children's from 5 cents to 8. The free transfer now costs a nickel.

THE REACTION: The fare boost has irritated some white persons against the boycotters. But other white families, who would rather see a bankrupt bus company than do certain work themselves, continue to transport their Negro domestics in their own cars. Other white persons—the Rev. Robert S. Graetz, pastor of the Negro Trinity Lutheran Church congregation is an example—are aiding the Negroes' fight. Mr. Graetz told his congregation:

> "It isn't a boycott if half of us ride the buses and half don't ride. If we're going to do it, let's make a good job of it."



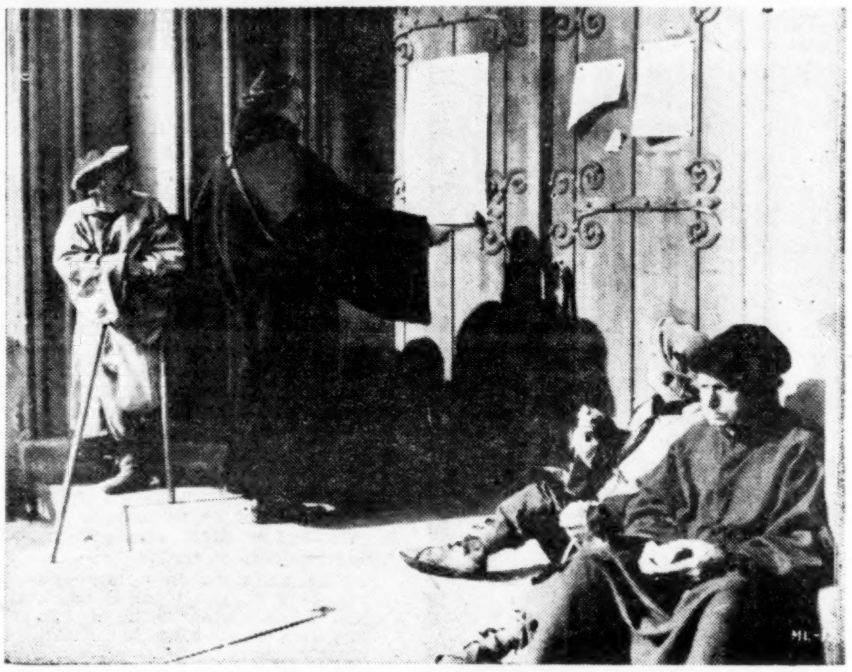
Afro-American, Baltimore

TEST OF STRENGTH

A private car pool of 200 was set up at the beginning of the boycott, supplemented by 108 cabs and serviced by eight filling stations which give discounts. Mr. Graetz gives three hours a day to hauling passengers. While driving a Negro woman to the suburbs recently the minister was stopped on the highway by the Montgomery County sheriff and accused of operating a "taxi" without a license. He argued his way out.

COURT GIVES HIM RIGHT

Melish stays in pulpit till trial settles fight



From the de Rochemont film "Martin Luther"

THE FIGHT AGAINST CHURCH AUTOCRACY IS NOT A NEW THING

Martin Luther posting his attack on the sale of indulgences

AT BROOKLYN's Holy Trinity Church on Sunday, Jan. 22, Rev. William Howard Melish conducted two serene services without interference.

Photographers and cameramen had arrived early, expecting a repetition of the previous Sunday's turmoil. On that day Rev. Robert K. Thomas, brought in as "supply" priest by dissident vestrymen and Bishop James DeWolfe, seeking to oust Mr. Melish, tried unsuccessfully to win the congregation's attention from Mr. Melish. Six vestrymen out of 11 (2 vacancies) had voted to oust Mr. Melish. His supporters claim that the action was illegal since a quorum of seven was not present.

The photographers and cameramen were asked to remain outside the church. The dissident vestrymen stayed away, but 90% of the parishioners came.

JAN. 31 TRIAL: On Jan. 19 the dissident vestrymen had obtained a court order against Mr. Melish to show cause why he should not be "restrained" from entering church property or attempting to conduct services the following Sunday. Meanwhile, the Standing Committee of the Long Island diocese ordered a Church inquiry into Mr. Melish's conduct.

The next day Mr. Melish went before Brooklyn Supreme Court Justice M. Henry Martucello, with his attorney Hubert T. Delany, former Justice of the Domestic Relations Court. After a two hour conference in his chambers with the attorneys for both sides, Justice Martucello announced mutual agreement to hold off proceedings on the show cause order until a Jan. 31 trial, where the whole matter will be aired, before Brooklyn Supreme Court Referee John MacCrate. When Delany asked for assurance that there would be no interference in the service the following Sunday, Martucello said: "Nothing will interfere in any way that would reflect on the services."

SUPPORT COMES IN: Delany's father, the Rt. Rev. Henry Beard Delany, the first Negro Episcopal bishop in the U. S., was Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal diocese in N. Carolina. Delany's sister-in-law is a communicant at Holy Trinity. Delany himself is a Lay Reader and a member of the Layman's Comm. of Six of the Episcopal diocese of New York. This is his first law case since Mayor Wagner refused to reappoint him to the Domestic Relations Court. Atty. Raphael Weissman represented the three vestrymen supporting Mr. Melish.

Mr. Melish has received strong support from other clergymen. Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of **The Churchman,** who read the first lesson at the Jan. 22 services, said later that his publication would editorially support the Melish cause. In a feature article in the current (1/26) issue of **The Witness,** editor Dr. William B. Spofford wholeheartedly supported Mr. Melish.

"PROPHETIC MINISTRY": At Brooklyn's Union Presbyterian Church in Bay Ridge, Dr. John Paul Jones in his Jan. 22 sermon declared that "it will be a disgrace to us and a hindrance to the gospel" if Mr. Melish fails to gain sympathy and support from Christians generally. He said that the "presumptions" were all in Mr. Melish's favor as a "child of the manse" and a family man whom "no breath of scandal has ever touched." Dr. Jones added:

> "William Howard Melish has attempted a type of prophetic ministry in a situation where the normal inertia of conventional religion, plus the hysteria of the times, have brought upon him the woes of the prophet."

Contributions welcome

A Parishioners' Committee for Holy Trinity is receiving contributions for Mr. Melish's defense. Contributions should be sent to Alex Munsell, Treas., 126 Pierpont St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

AN ABSURD NOTION: In his own sermon last Sunday, entitled "Christian Manhood," Mr. Melish said:

> "Nothing seems to me quite so irrational and absurd as the supposition of many people that Christians who know their own faith and really believe it must keep themselves aloof from the adherents of other religions and philosophies and intellectual points of view. 'You mustn't have anything to do with Buddhists, or Mohammedans, or Jews, or Humanists, or Materialists, or Marxists!' People who say that have no real grasp, or hold, on the Christian Faith themselves, no confidence in its truth and power, no trust in the God disclosed in Jesus Christ!"

Mr. Melish ended his sermon as he began it; he quoted St. Paul's statement (I Corinthians 13:11):

> "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things."

How Congress looks

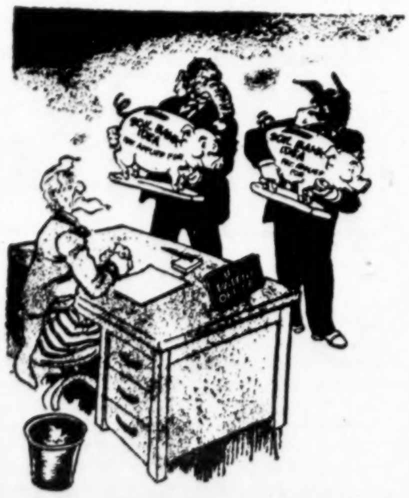
(Continued from Page 1)

comes in the near future seemed firmly ruled out.

In general, the welfare items in the budget were so far overshadowed by warfare items that the "civil benefits" seemed piddling indeed.

A STRANGE PICTURE: Altogether, the opening of the second session of the 84th Congress presented some weird prospects to the American people. In this fourth year of the Eisenhower era, Republicans, as reflected in the predominantly Republican press of the country, were the friends of the people who had not only achieved peace but who had also, like Herbert Hoover, brought the country to the brink of all-time prosperity.

The GOP, to prove this point, for three years had flayed the Democrats for "20 years of treason." For political expediency the "liberal" Democrats, instead of defending their record under Roosevelt, chose instead to prove that they are rougher on Reds than the Republicans. In the grim excitement now of trying to guess if Ike will or will not run again, both parties were outdoing themselves in popular appeals to the public.



Long in Minneapolis Tribune

By last week Mr. Eisenhower, with his two major messages to Congress, had the Democrats clearly off balance. Actually, neither party constituted a party because each was rent and torn by internal dissension—and none of the many wings of each had a clear voice raised in behalf of the people.

MEANY'S PROGRAM: During the week George Meany, head of the powerful united AFL-CIO, gave out his legislative program. He was as cagily cautious as the elected politicians themselves and asked for considerably less than Franklin D. Roosevelt had demanded in the first burgeoning days of the New Deal. Like the present day Democrats, he could do little more than try to up the ante on what the Republicans proposed and went far beyond the Eisenhower wing of the GOP in demanding a fight-to-the-finish battle with communism wherever it reared its head in the world.

Meany called for a tough bipartisan foreign policy because

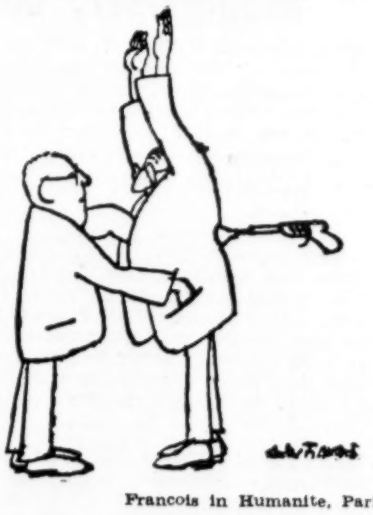
> ". . . America must be united to be able to overcome the worldwide challenge of aggressive communism, which grows daily more threatening to the security of the free world."

Du Bois speaks Feb. 3 in Brooklyn Heights

DR. W. E. B. Du BOIS will speak on "Democracy and the South" at the Negro History Week forum of the Brooklyn Heights Guardian Club Friday eve., Feb. 3, in the auditorium of the Church of the Saviour at 90 Monroe Place. The meeting starts promptly at 8:30 p.m.

In the same message he demanded federal aid to education of a billion dollars a year for the next five years. On the issue closest to his own home—repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—he asked only for revision.

THE FARM ISSUE: But it wasn't only labor leaders who had made their peace with a reactionary government. James G. Patton, head of the Natl. Farmers Union, told the Senate Agriculture Committee last week that the government should hold on to its $8,000,000,000 worth of surplus food—which costs more than $1,000,000 a day just for storage—as a war reserve. He quoted the now famous Dulles revelations of how close he has led the country to the brink and said:



Francois in Humanite, Paris

> "If we have been on the verge of war three times recently, we'd better keep those reserves."

On the other side of the big debate over the Eisenhower proposal to build up a soil bank—an old New Deal idea—was "liberal" Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) who said that "if the farmers ever get this kind of a deal they can close up shop right now." He denounced the whole notion as "a scandal."

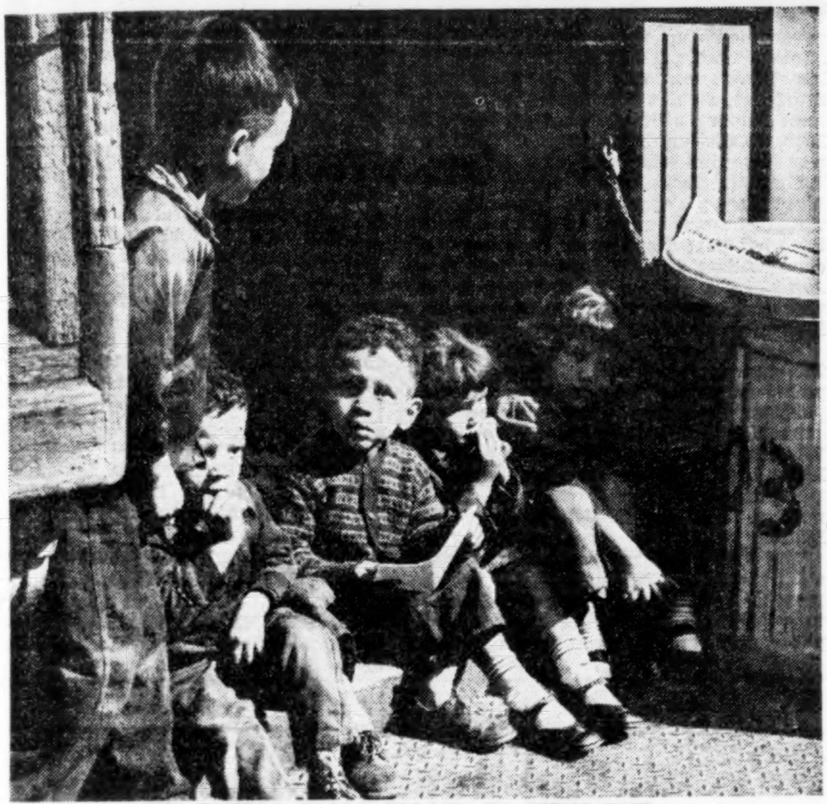
Democrats generally seemed confused at the Eisenhower adoption of an old Democratic farm plank. Some insisted that if up to 45,000,000 acres were to be removed from production, the scheme would have to be mandatory upon farmers; others said the proposal was simply an election year bid for votes.

AID TO SCHOOLS: Democrats were also off balance on the question of desegregation in the schools. Eisenhower this year increased his recommendation for Federal aid to the states in new school construction beyond which few Democrats dare go. But in his school message, he carefully refrained from any mention of the explosive issue of denying aid to those states which defy the Supreme Court order to end segregation.

Last week it became clear that Northern Democrats in the House would attach a non-segregation amendment to the Administration's school bill, and it became equally clear that Southern Democrats in the Senate will filibuster such a bill to death. It was a neat Republican move to make the Democrats responsible for killing a progressive measure desperately needed by the nation.

The NAACP was maintaining its principled stand on the matter. It insisted that "no Federal funds for school construction should go to states which do not comply with the Supreme Court ruling" and defended its stand:

> "It will not 'kill' the school bill. The people who will 'kill' the bill, if it is killed, will be those Senators and Congressmen who are determined to keep segregation even if the rest of the United States does not get any Federal aid for schools."



THE FUTURE COULD BELONG TO THEM, BUT . . .
A group of Puerto Rican children in their "playground"

SOME JUSTICE IN JERSEY

Meyner fires judge who maligned Puerto Ricans

PUERTO RICANS in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were celebrating last week, planning victory caravans and public rallies. Spanish language dailies carried the news in banner headlines: Judge Frank T. Lloyd was fired.

Behind the judge's dismissal, announced last week by New Jersey's Gov. Robert Meyner, was a story of new ghettos, a bigoted attack and a united clamor of protest from Puerto Ricans that brought a victory and the hope of greater ones.

In December the home of Emiliano Feliciano, near Englishtown, N. J., was destroyed by fire. Three of his children, all under 5, died; a fourth was at school. A grand jury opened an inquiry that revealed vast Hoovervilles of Puerto Ricans on the outskirts of Jersey towns, particularly Millstone, Manalapan, Monmouth and Freehold.

WALL OF BIGOTRY: Testimony showed families desperate for shelter, sometimes sleeping in cars. Miserable wages kept some from better housing; bigotry walled most of the ghettos. When Mrs. Carmen Benitez built a new house in the "white" part of Freehold, it was burned to the ground by arsonists at night.

The revelations shocked Puerto Ricans and the matter was raised in Congress in San Juan, though little of it appeared in U. S. papers.

Judge Lloyd of the N. J. Superior Court, the state's highest court, testified before the Grand Jury early in January. He said:

> "We look at slums and I have always felt that slums were the result of people. Unfortunately there are certain classes of people—particularly those who are now being imported. We are bringing in so many people from, I will cite specifically, Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is, I think, to my mind, one of the filthiest places I have ever seen. The people live in hovels and they live together exactly in the same state as you have mentioned here. In some cases it is even much worse. They have never been educated differently."

"NO OFFENSE": The uproar in the Puerto Rican community was instantaneous, loud and united. Those in Jersey called on Puerto Ricans everywhere to protest because they feared Lloyd's statement would whip up the local bigots. Organizations throughout Puerto Rican communities in the Northeast came together. Mail flooded Jersey offices. Puerto Ricans working in hotels and restaurants collected money for the campaign.

Lloyd attempted an apology, said he meant "no offense against any race or people." The storm swept over him. Puerto Ricans, unappeased, called for his resignation. The N. J.-CIO executive committee added their voice.

On Jan. 17 Gov. Robert Meyner announced that he had removed Lloyd from the bench for "intemperance in his judicial conduct." His $20,000-a-year salary was stopped and there would be no pension. The judge's seven-year term had expired Sept. 15 but he had presided in court under the assumption that since he had not been replaced he had life tenure.

THEY ARE AMERICANS: Gov. Meyner said Lloyd had presided illegally since Sept. 15 and cast into doubt the validity of all his rulings since that date. The Governor denounced Lloyd's statement to the Grand Jury and commented:

> "I think it is a mistake to say that Puerto Ricans are imported. They are United States citizens and have as much right to be in California or New Jersey as in Puerto Rico."

The Governor cited two other actions by Lloyd as grounds for dismissal. He said Lloyd had ruled a clergyman in criminal contempt for criticizing one of his decisions; he had so handled a taxpayer's petition for investigation of municipal affairs in Delaware Township that Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt had said:

> The proceedings here followed partook of the nature of an inquisition and had the natural tendency to intimidate citizens and seriously hamper the good intended by these statutory proceedings."

"WE ARE STRONG": There was no doubt, however, that what led to Lloyd's dismissal was the protest by Puerto Ricans. Lloyd said he would challenge in court the Governor's right to dismiss him, but few expected him to regain his post.

The Spanish language daily **El Diario de Nueva York** (1/19) said editorially:

> We have removed a judge of the Superior Court. Do you know, **senores hispanos**, what that means?
>
> "We are strong, we are recognized, we are a community. We have reached a civic maturity. We still lack political maturity. We still fail to send our people into governmental levels of the state, city and Congress.
>
> "We must use this strength; this momentum must be made irresistible. We must register for the elections and go to the primaries in strength.
>
> "The victory over Judge Lloyd is one of the greatest things that have happened in the life of our community. But it is only the first step.
>
> "Forward, **hispanos**! The future belongs to us!"

EDUCATION

California Labor School under attack by Brownell

IN 1942 HOLLAND Roberts and David Jenkins became directors of a new kind of school in San Francisco. It occupied a floor over a garage at Turk St. and Van Ness Av. and reflected the anti-fascist mood of that year. It was called at first the Tom Mooney Labor School and later, when it moved to larger quarters on Divisadero St., the California Labor School.

On Jan. 9, 1956, as a hearing opened before the Subversive Activities Control Board which Atty. Gen. Brownell has asked to declare the school a "Communist Front," director Roberts said:

> "We are not a front of any kind and we will not register as a front for anybody or any organization. Our organization was organized in 1942 to defend American democracy against Hitlerism and we are preparing to fight the fascist acts of Atty. Gen. Brownell."

OTHER TIMES: A little more than ten years before the SACB hearing opened, the State Dept. was in touch with the school: when the founding session of the UN was being prepared in San Francisco, Washington formally asked the school to act as host to labor delegations coming from abroad. In 1946 the California State Dept. of Education investigated the school—and approved it as qualified to receive government payments for veterans' education under the GI Bill of Rights.

Before the hearings opened Dr. Frank Weymouth, professor emeritus of physiology at Stanford University, and more than 100 others prominent in the state, petitioned the SACB to drop the case or at least hold it in abeyance pending a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of the McCarran Act under which the Board functions.

THE INFORMERS: From its start the school has accepted all students without regard to race, religion, color or political opinion. Among them, apparently, were a number of Federal agents including Frank Wereb who appeared as the government's first witness against the school.

Wereb said he joined the Communist Party in the 1940's at the request of the FBI and has been informing ever since. In his first hour on the stand he mentioned the names of 50 persons he said he knew as Communists, but he failed to show any connection between them and the school.

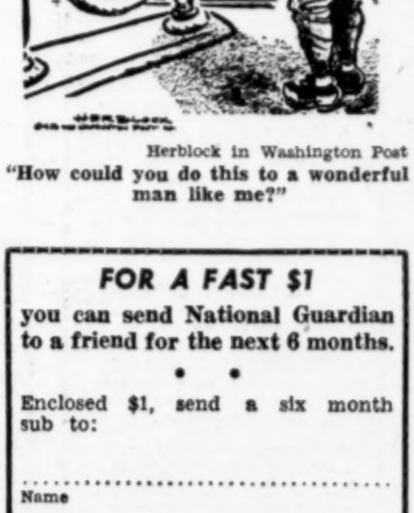
Under cross-examination by the school's attorney, George Andersen, Wereb testified he attended 100 Marxist classes at the school between 1944 and 1948. Asked whether he gained any knowledge of economy or political theory, Wereb said: "No, I admit my ignorance."

He explained he was too busy gathering names of fellow-students in the class and filling out his FBI reports to pay attention to what was being taught.

STILL IN BUSINESS: While the hearings dragged on in the basement of San Francisco's Federal Building, the California Labor School opened its winter term with a packed rally and an Open House. It scheduled a full catalogue of courses from economics to music, listed lectures by Meridel Le Sueur, Doxey Wilkerson, Victor Arnautoff, Celeste Strack Kaplan.

In New York, meanwhile, the Senate Investigations subcommittee opened fire on the school. Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) occupies the chairmanship once held by Sen. McCarthy (R-Wis.). At hearings last week both McCarthy and McClellan threatened an early probe of the school for having been approved by the VA for GI benefits. The school operated under the program for a very short time and was withdrawn at its own request.

3 OTHER SCHOOLS: The subcommittee was for the moment more concerned with three other schools: the Radio and Television Technical School of Allentown, Pa., and the Cartoonists and Illustrators School and the Robert Louis Stevenson School, both of N. Y. Directors of the first two schools denied any connection with the CP but invoked the Fifth Amendment in answering other questions dealing with their past political views or those of associates. Leo D. Rhodes of the Stevenson school claimed he had "cleaned house" of Communists and won the committee's congratulations for his "co-operation."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WELLMAN IS SMITH ACT VICTIM

Government orders veteran with shrapnel in heart to pay back $9,581 benefits

THE U. S. government early this month dunned Saul Wellman for $9,581.85. The debt had its origins in the bloody battlefield of Bastogne in bitter cold during Christmas week, 1944.

Cpl. Saul Wellmanof the 101st Airborne Division had his chest shattered by German shrapnel and fell unconscious into an icy puddle. Three hours later he was picked up by German troops, loaded onto a truck as part of a prisoner-of-war convoy. When a munitions truck up ahead exploded, he and two other wounded prisoners leaped from their truck, took cover in a ditch and waited for five hours on a freezing night until they were rescued by U. S. troops.

Corporal Wellman spent the next six months in a succession of hospitals and even then they couldn't pry all the shrapnel out of his heart. On June 6, 1945, Wellman was discharged with a 100% disability. Later it was reduced to 50%.

TIME PAYMENTS: After his discharge Wellman became an official of the Communist Party and in 1954 was convicted under the Smith Act of "conspiring to teach and advocate" the overthrow of the government. His appeal is pending, but ever since last June his pension has been stoppd.

Now the government is seeking to regain every cent it has paid him, including the monthly allowance of $16.50 to his wife, $7 for his daughter, $5.25 for his son.

H. R. Owsley, finance officer of the Veterans Administration, made only this concession to ex-hero Wellman:

> "If it will cause undue hardship for you to remit the full amount of the overpayment at one time, you may liquidate the indebtedness by regular monthly payments."

WHAT PRICE BRAVERY? The U. S. government has wiped out its debts to another hero, presently serving time for his beliefs in Atlanta Penitentiary. Staff Sgt. Robert Thompson, as a platoon leader at Buna in New Guinea in 1943, so distinguished himself that he was awarded the DSC and Lt. Gen. Robert L. Eichelberger recommended him for a captain's commission. Thompson was known as a Communist then but that fact seemed irrelevant to commanders in the field. Before the Army could act on his commission he was sent home suffering from tuberculosis and malaria.

By 1951 the climate had changed in the country; battlefield bravery seemed pointless to the VA, and Thompson's political opinions decisive. After his conviction under the Smith Act, the VA suspended his pension. His wife Leona, despite illness, has had to carry the burden of appeals through channels, a fight she is still waging (see Mailbag, p. 2).

The VA has picked pensioner's pockets by quoting Public Law 144 which provides for the suspension of pensions to veterans convicted of treason, espionage or rendering aid to the enemy. Such charges appear nowhere in any indictment under the Smith Act.

OTHER VICTIMS: Hope grew that sanity might be returning to the VA when it restored the pension of legless James Kutcher who had been penalized for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. But that ruling, clearly the result of powerful public pressure, was so worded as to give the VA the right to pick and choose the veterans allowed to keep the pensions they earned.

Up to last week there apparently had been insufficient pressure on behalf of Smith Act victims. Robert Klonsky, who fought with a tank battalion in Okinawa and whose appeal from a Smith Act conviction in Philadelphia is still pending, was informed that he would be deprived of all veterans' benefits.

Two other Philadelphia Smith Act victims who fought in World War II, Sherman Labovitz and Ben Weiss, were informed that should they apply for any VA benefits they would be denied.

H. V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, can restore pensions to those who deserve them. His address: Veterans' Administration, Wash. 25, D. C.

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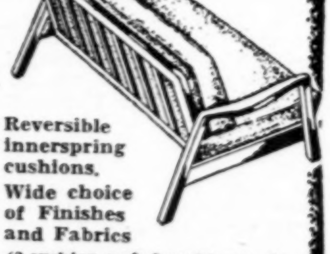

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CALENDAR

Chicago

"SOVIET UNION AND CHINA." Joseph Starobin, author of "Paris to Peking." Also film. Wed., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Adm.: 50c. Sponsor: Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship.

"A TRIBUTE TO EMMETT TILL." In person: Earl Robinson, Leon Bibb, Chicago Youth Chorus. Sat., Feb. 11, 8 p.m., Curtis Hall, 410 S. Michigan. Adm: $1.50 and $1 (tax incl.) Auspices: Illinois Labor Youth League.

Los Angeles

SAVE THIS DATE—Fri. eve., Mar. 30. **FIRST APPEARANCE FOR GUARDIAN READERS**

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San Francisco

MERIDEL LE SUEUR: "The Roots of My Writing." Sunday Forum, Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m., at 321 Divisadero St. Class of five lectures on Third Party Movement and A People's Culture beginning Feb. 2 at California Labor School.

HOLD THE DATE! SAT., MAR. 17, 7 p.m., for the Second Annual Northern Calif. GUARDIAN BANQUET at Mart Club, 1355 Market St. (9th floor). Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Kumar Goshal, speakers. Vivian Hallinan, Chairman. Donation: $5. Reservations: LA 4-4289, EX 2-4960.

St. Joseph, Mich.

MICHIANA GUARDIAN COMMITTEE presents **JOSEPH STAROBIN,** lecturer, author. "Paris to Peking." Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m., UE Hall, 113 State St., St. Joseph, Mich. Discussion and refreshments follow.

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Feb. 13—**What Is the Relation Between Means and Ends?**
Feb. 20—**"Objectivity"** — Aloofness from action?
Feb. 27—**Is Truth Attainable?** (Knowledge, Truth and Scientific Method).
Mar. 5—**Knowing and Acting** — Theory and Practice.

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MODERN NOVEL AS IMAGE OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Lecturers: **Mr. Francis Bartlett,** psychotherapist; and **Dr. Frederic Ewen,** literary critic. (Both speakers will participate at each session).

Five Thursday evenings, 8:30-10

Feb. 9—**D. H. Lawrence:** "Sons and Lovers."
Feb. 16—**Dostoievsky:** "Crime and Punishment."
Feb. 23—**Andre Gide:** "The Immoralist."
Mar. 1—**Franz Kafka:** "The Trial."
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Tuition: $5 for course of 5 sessions (or $1 per session).

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "THE SPICE OF LIFE." Jan. 28. Gallic wit and sharp observation combine in a hilarious presentation of one aspect of the human comedy: social bores. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1. non-members, $1.25. Next week: **ANNAPURNA** (French).

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Jan. 29: WHAT'S AHEAD FOR U. S. ECONOMY IN '56? A Round-Table, with David Goldway, Victor Perlo and Meyer Weise.

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FORUM: DEVELOPMENTS IN UN. Led by Richard Yaffee, accredited correspondent to the UN. Sun., Jan. 29, 8:30 p.m. ALP, 2688 B'way (near 103d St.) Contribution: 50c. Refreshments.

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY RALLY. Sun., Feb. 12, 2 p.m. "20 Years Fighting Fascism—The Molding of Our Generation." Dr. Edward K. Barsky, John Gates, Steve Nelson, Milt Wolff. Entertainment. Adm.: $1. The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. Ausp: Veterans of Lincoln Brigade.

SUN., FEB. 19, 6:30 p.m. Dinner in tribute to **DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE,** Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St. Speakers: Barrows Dunham, Otto Nathan, Frank Donner, Clark Foreman, Guy Emery Shipler. $5 per plate. Reserv.: World Fellowship, 118 E. 28th St., or call MU 5-5245. Auspices: World Fellowship.

MOZART FESTIVAL in celebration of 200th Anniversary of his birth, Sun., Jan. 29, 2:30 p.m. Film Opera "Marriage of Figaro," with Berlin State Orchestra. German-English titles. Speaker: Sidney Finkelstein. Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St. Adm.: $1.25 (tax included). Sponsor: German-American, Inc.

DEMOCRACY AND THE SOUTH, address by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Negro History Week Forum, auspices Brooklyn Heights Guardian Club, Fri., Feb. 3, 8:30 p.m. Church of Saviour, 90 Monroe Pl., B'klyn.

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EX-CONGRESSMAN DIES

Jerry J. O'Connell

TOO LATE for inclusion in last week's GUARDIAN, news reached us of the untimely death at age 46 in Great Falls, Mont., of former Rep. Jerry J. O'Connell, an unflagging fighter from boyhood for peoples' rights and causes.

He had been under treatment for a heart ailment but apparently felt well when he retired at 11 p.m. Jan. 15 after a quiet Sunday evening. Mrs. O'Connell found him dead when she arose Monday morning to send their son, Jerry Danny, to school. A founder of the Progressive Party, he was its Washington State chairman during the Wallace-Taylor campaign of 1948.

JERRY J. O'CONNELL
Premature in death too

FOUGHT ANACONDA: Born in Butte June 14, 1909, son of a copper miner who died of silicosis when he was eight, Jerry was raised and given a fine education by his mother Nellie (she still lives) who worked as janitress in the Butte courthouse. An implacable foe from early youth of the mining conditions maintained by Anaconda Copper through its political grip on Montana, he was elected to the Montana House of Representatives from Silver Bow County while he was still an undergraduate at Carroll College, Helena.

During two terms in the Montana legislature he got his law degree from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and joined the staff of the late Sen. Thomas J. Walsh. After a two-year term on the Montana Railroad-Public Service Commission, he ran for Congress in '36 and won on a platform "For Roosevelt, for Farmer, Laborer and Veteran and the Townsend Plan."

WENT TO SPAIN: As the youngest member of the 75th Congress, with Rep. John T. Bernard of Minnesota he was one of the first men in public life to espouse the cause of Republican Spain and went to Madrid in 1937. He made national headlines in the free speech fight against Mayor Hague of Jersey City. Like Bernard, he was defeated in '38 as a "premature" anti-Fascist. Both men became fast friends of the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio. O'Connell went to Seattle after his defeat and later became executive officer of the Washington Democratic Party.

In 1948, as a leader of the Progressive Party, he led to Washington a historic mobilization of some 10,000 people who succeeded in defeating the Mundt-Nixon Bill, a forerunner of the 1950 McCarran Act. After the '48 campaigns, O'Connell returned to his home state and entered law practice in Great Falls. His last case resulted in acquittal for a man accused of murder.

NEW YORK

RALLY for justice in Mississippi

Wed., Feb. 8, 8 pm

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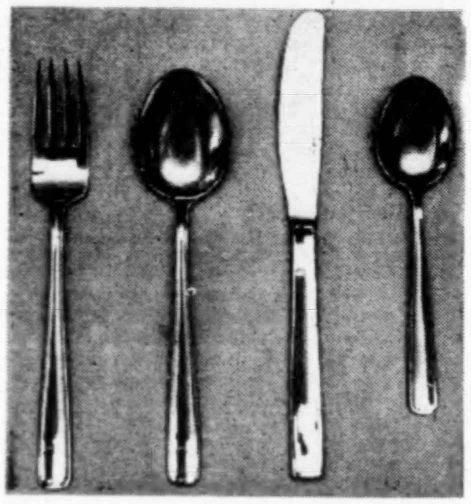

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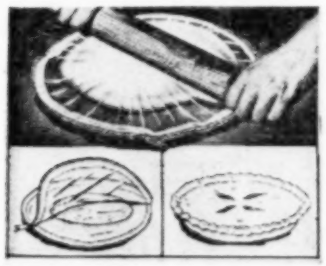

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the SPECTATOR

Bold Ben Franklin

NOW THAT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN has mouldered into dust, most of the big press feels safe, on the 250th anniversary of his birth, in covering him with laudations, and in quoting him (with careful screening). Few papers, I think, would print the following quotations from the works of this statesman, scientist and man of many parts. For example:

"Without freedom of thought, there can be no such thing as wisdom; and no such thing as public liberty without freedom of speech; which is the right of every man as far as by it he does not hurt or control the right of another; and this is the only check it ought to suffer and the only bounds it ought to know. . . . Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech: a thing terrible to public traitors."

And on wealth and society:

"Superfluous property is the creature of society. Simple and mild laws were sufficient to guard the property that was merely necessary. The savage's bow, his hatchet, and his coat of skins were sufficiently secured without law, by the fear of personal resentment and retaliation. When, by virtue of the first laws, part of the society accumulated wealth and grew more powerful, they enacted others more severe and would protect their property at the expense of humanity."

After speaking of war as theft and murder, he said:

"Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang."

On human rights he was most eloquent:

"God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: 'This is my country.'"

CONCERNING THE RELATION between wealth and governing power, he said:

"Is it supposed that wisdom is the necessary concomitant of riches, and that one man worth a thousand pounds must have as much wisdom as 20 who have only 999? And why is property to be represented at all?

"The accumulation . . . of property . . . and its security to individuals in every society must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society in the execution of its laws. Private property therefore is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society, whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions therefore to the public exigencies are not to be considered as conferring a benefit to the public, entitling the contributors to the distinctions of honor and power, but as the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt. . . .

"The important ends of civil society, and the personal securities of life and liberty, these remain the same in every member of society; and the poorest continue to have an equal claim to them with the most opulent, whatever difference time, chance or industry may occasion in their circumstances. On these considerations, I am sorry to see . . . a disposition among some of our people to commence an aristocracy by giving the rich a predominancy in government."

(What would Franklin have said of President Eisenhower's Cadillac Cabinet?)

ALL OF THE ABOVE are quoted in Carl Van Doren's biography of Franklin. The following, part of a letter which Franklin wrote to Robert Morris, is also worthy of attention:

"All property, except the savage's temporary cabin, his bow, his matchcoat and other little acquisitions, absolutely necessary for his subsistence, seems to me the creature of public convention. Hence, the public has the right of regulating descents, and all other conveyances of property, and even of limiting the quantity and uses of it. All the property that is necessary to a man, for the conservation of the individual and the propagation of the species, is his natural right, which none may justly deprive him of; but all property superfluous to such purposes is the property of the public, who, by their laws, have created it, and who may therefore, by other laws, dispose of it, whenever the welfare of the public shall demand such disposition. He that does not like civil society on these terms, let him retire and live among savages. He can have no right to the benefits of society, who will not pay his club toward the support of it."

THIS LAST SEEMS especially pertinent at this moment of our history. It might behoove the Administration and the Pentagon to give it thought:

"To me it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining of any trade, however valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce is the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profit of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and of holding it, by fleets and armies."

—**Berenice Noar**

Starobin to speak in Chicago Feb. 1

JOSEPH STAROBIN, author of **Paris to Peking,** will speak on "The Soviet Union and China," at 8 p.m., Feb. 1, in Chicago's Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St., the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship announced last week. Starobin's lecture will be the third in the Council's series on "Understanding the Soviet Union." Admission is 50c.